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SUMERIAN / NOSTRATIC / SINO-CAUCASIAN ISOGLOSSES

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This cautious and exploratory compilation aims at putting the **Sumerian** isolate in a broader perspective[1]. It started with an informal comparison based on one version of the so-called "basic vocabulary" (224 words in this instance[2]), used for the sake of convenience, and also as an experiment. It was then extended to less central vocabulary.

At the outset the following remarks on Sumerian are called for :

1) Unfortunately, Sumerian cannot be treated as most languages, where there exist standard lexicographic sources that can be resorted to with a minimum preparation, and where even old works are still quite usable. Because of the peculiarities of the script, there are special problems involved. This means for instance that the reading of certain signs have changed over the years. Besides, there is still no extensive up-to-date dictionary of Sumerian, so that a large part of the information is scattered in a large number of books and articles.

2) As far as possible, the forms and meanings of words should be checked in several sources, taking into account the most recent developments, because Sumerian lexicography is a fast-moving field (Hallo 1985 : 125). Normally this requirement would not apply to the most basic vocabulary, which has supposedly been known since the end of the last century. But even there, one must be on the alert, as we can see with the word for "mouth", which used to be read ka, and is now kag. Consequently, the degree of reliability of the data must be specified carefully. When a doubt arises, this should be stated clearly. The sources consulted should preferably be given in cases where there is the slightest doubt.

To avoid culling Sumerian words hapahazardly from third-hand lists, I have tried to check them as systematically as I could, which I think should be done with several recent sources whenever possible.

4) The accurate quotation of glosses found in the Sumerological literature should be strictly respected. Purely contextual meanings should be distinguished from the normal, basic meaning. Needless to say, the comparison of Sumerian with other languages is fraught with dangers if we allow ourselves semantic approximations.

I have attempted to gather nearly every shred of evidence that has come to my notice so far, bearing on possible relationships, areal, genetic, or both, between **Sumerian**, **Nostratic**, and also **Sino-Caucasian**, or **Dene-Caucasian** (the last two linguistic families being defined further down), but I have usually refrained from going any further, so that I have not considered so-called "global etymologies", such as have been put forward recently by Ruhlen, Bengtson, Blažek, etc. So as to give a nearly complete picture of the situation as I see it, I have also provided a second list for parallels not belonging to the core of the vocabulary, as well as for a number of grammatical morphemes (for details on personal pronouns and grammatical items, see my papers on these topics).

I have included some (but not all) of the comparisons or suggestions in a number of books, articles, unpublished notes or papers, or personal communications, by J. D. Bengtson, V. Blažek, A. R. Bomhard[3], M. Dětrois, I. M. Diakonoff & S. Starostin, E. de Grolier, R. Machonkin, A. Ju. Militarëv[4], M. Morvan, V. Shevoroshkin. In particular I have used nearly all the extremely extensive additional material that, with his usual generosity, Blažek sent me in his comments on an earlier version. For references to previous attempts at linking Sumerian with various language families, see my paper on Sumerian and Dravidian, as well as my "Conjecture"[5]. Usually, I have not tried to integrate these earlier comparisons systematically, though. Inevitably, some parallels are independent "rediscoveries", although I hope I have been fair to everybody. When there is no special mention, the comparison is my own.

Some items are quoted from **Burushaski**, which is considered as Sino-Caucasian (see below) by Pejros, as well as by Bengtson, and now by Ruhlen too. On **Basque**, see below.

I have included a selected list of Sumerian / **Dravidian** isoglosses from my 1987 paper, plus quite a few other items that I found subsequently[6]. This is because, since we have a roster of forms compiled with an unprejudiced mind[7], a number of dyadic isoglosses (Sumerian / Dravidian, Sumerian / Altaic, Sumerian / Uralic, Sumerian / Afroasiatic, Sumerian / Indo-European) had to be included, I think, *not* because they would necessarily imply any special relationship between Sumerian and these respective families[8], but simply because we must bear in mind the possibility that other linguists might eventually supply new material from still other families. It is only too obvious that, as Dolgopolsky and Greenberg made it clear, the likelihood of chance parallels[9] decreases sharply as the number of families handled by the linguist increases. It is also safer to collect all the relevant information, so as to avoid jumping to conclusions on the strength of just a couple of

similar words. In any case, it would seem that there are a number of special isoglosses between Sumerian and Dravidian, although some of them might be accounted for by borrowing. There are also a fair number of Afroasiatic / Sumerian isoglosses, which might point to borrowing, although the decision is hard to take in some cases.

For geographical reasons, the most likely solutions for a genetic affiliation of Sumerian (should such an affiliation ever be demonstrable) appear to be either Nostratic, or Sino-Caucasian, or both[10]. **Nostratic**, in the standard sense (Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky), is a a hypothetical super-phylum which comprises Afroasiatic (which some specialists would now tend to exclude from Nostratic *stricto sensu*[11]), Indo-European, Kartvelian, Dravidian (possibly forming Elamo-Dravidian with Elamite[12]), Uralic-Yukaghir, and Altaic *lato sensu* (Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusic, plus Japanese-Ryukyuan and Korean), perhaps also Eskimo-Aleutian, and, according to some authors, though not to others, Chukchi-Kamchatkan, and Nivkh[13]. See Kaiser & Shevoroshkin (1988) for an easily accessible presentation of Nostratic. Greenberg's Eurasiatic (work in progress) has rather different boundaries.

Sino-Caucasian, another super-phylum recently posited by Starostin[14], encompasses North Caucasian (North-East Caucasian, including Hurrian-Urartian, and North-West Caucasian[15]), Yeniseian (Ket being the only living representative of this five-language family), and Sino-Tibetan. Recently, Nikolaev suggested that it might be related to the North American phylum Na-Dene, forming **Dene-Caucasian** (Nikolaev 1989). In a bold new breakthrough, Starostin recently adduced arresting data to show that Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian might be related (Starostin 1989). Bengtson (1989b) builds on Starostin and adds new material.

Some authors think that Sumerian could belong to the Sino-Caucasian super-phylum : Starostin, informally, with nothing published or even written down ; also Bengtson, first in a recent unpublished word list privately circulated (1989a), and then in a more detailed way in his "Notes on Sino-Caucasian", with 149 entries, 56 of which contain Sumerian data (Bengtson 1989b). Bengtson also includes Burushaski and Basque in his Sino-Caucasian (= Dene-Caucasian) (see Bengtson 1990 on the Macro-Caucasian phylum which, according to him, would include North Caucasian, Basque and Burushaski). I have included most of Bengtson's parallels when they were based on correct Sumerian material, sometimes modifying the Sumerian words where necessary[16]. Bengtson's hypothesis has been endorsed by Ruhlen (1989b,

"Phylogenetic relations..."). Friedrich Unger had already hypothesized that Sumerian could be related to Chinese[17], but unfortunately I have not had access to his work[18]. In my earlier papers, I had tried to accumulate evidence in favour of another conjecture[19], namely a Sumerian / Nostratic connection.

But these the Nostratic and the Dene-Caucasian hypotheses are **not necessarily incompatible**. This is because, *if* the Nostratic hypothesis is correct, *if* the Sino-Caucasian hypothesis is correct, and *if* Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian are actually connected, *then* it follows that Sumerian might be related to *both* in a variety of ways. To be specific : either Sumerian is part of standard Nostratic, or it is part of Sino-Caucasian (maybe as the representative of a fourth branch beside North Caucasian, Yeniseian and Sino-Tibetan), or it is part of the huge and vague Nostratic / Sino-Caucasian "complex"[20], being closer to Nostratic though not part of it, or being closer to Sino-Caucasian though no part of it, or constituting a third "branch" of the complex by itself.

Hence we would be confronted with a problem of subgrouping, exactly the type of puzzle that Greenberg believes is the crux of long-range comparison[21], on which it is perhaps premature to hold too strong an opinion[22].

At the present stage of investigation, **I still feel that Sumerian might be closer to Nostratic**, although I must admit that this could be caused by a bias due to a much greater wealth of information on Nostratic languages, as well as to my poor knowledge of Sino-Caucasian[23]. In any case, I must remark that many of the parallels between Sumerian and Sino-Caucasian that are adduced by Bengtson can be matched by parallels or alternative isoglosses between Sumerian and Nostratic, so that they **do not discriminate unambiguously** between the two affiliations, and do not solve the problem of subgrouping in favour of Sino / Dene-Caucasian, at least to my satisfaction.

My comparisons are highly conjectural, and should be taken with a grain of salt. Every entry should be examined ruthlessly. There are various shortcomings, of which I am quite aware.

First of all, no attempt was made to establish systematic phonological correspondences (indeed I feel it may be a little too early at this stage of data-gathering, partly because of our uncertainties regarding Sumerian, and partly for reasons stated elsewhere), which admittedly reduces the overall value of the parallels[24]. Needless to say, though, I have been guided by what could count as reasonable phonological parallels.

Besides, as will be seen, the quality of the comparisons is extremely uneven, at times obviously poor. A fair number look

spurious (see for instance n° 116, or the words for "pure" in the second list, with the suspicious "metathesis"), others are very likely to be instances of independent convergence through phonetic symbolism ("phonaesthetic words", "Lallwörter", "nursery-words", such as n° 16, 51, 110, or the words in mur- for "shout")[25].

Finally, the problem of whether isoglosses are due to chance similarities or not is not easily solved. Bender (1969) concluded that, in examining the 100 basic words of the core vocabulary strictly according to Swadesh's methods, "the presence of more than two solid CVC sound-meaning correspondences in languages believed to be unrelated raises a strong probability that more than chance is involved".

In my 1987 paper "Analogies lexicales entre sumérien et dravidien", I looked at a number of words in 22 languages, apparently unrelated to French within the 10,000 B.C.-present time-span (on at least the 200 basic words in all but 5 of these languages), and tried to find phonetically and semantically similar words in the common vocabulary of French (but not restricting myself to the "basic word list"). I was rather generous in accepting parallels, so as not to run the risk of underestimating the possible impact of chance. For instance I considered as similar Greenlandic Eskimo *tuni* and French *donner* , both "to give", Eskimo *illar* "to laugh" and French *hilare* "beaming, smiling", etc. In some cases the languages examined had borrowed words from a language related to French, such as Spanish, English, or German. But the rule of my game was that I had chosen to place myself in the position of a linguist from Mars who could not possibly know anything about this fact. The 22 languages were : Abkhaz, Acoma, Akkadian, Arabic, Cantonese, Eskimo, Gumbaynggir, Hausa, Hebrew (Biblical), Hixkaryana, Huautla, Hungarian, Kobon, Mandinka, Mangarayi, Pangasinan, Quechua, Shoshone, Takum, Tamil, Tene, and Yoruba. The percentage of analogous pairs (not ascribable to cognation) goes from 0.0 % (Huautla / French) to 7.4 % (Hungarian / French), but in 2 cases out of 3, the proportion of analogous pairs is below 2 %. My results are below those of Greenberg, who gives an average of 4 % of analogs (for vocabularies of unspecified bulk).

It is difficult to estimate how many analogs we would have to find between, say, the common vocabulary of Sumerian and Dravidian as found in the standard repertoires, which run to several thousands, for us to conclude that the null hypothesis is to be rejected. Should it be multiples of 10 ? One hundred ? Of course, sheer numbers are one thing, the quality of the parallels are another. Besides, we are handicapped by the lack of morphophonemic alternation in Sumerian, that might provide us with welcome test cases.

Some isoglosses may be cases of more or less complex borrowing (such as n° 74, to which Militarëv would probably add at least some of n° 21, 56, 72, 77, 100, 108, 133, 152, and the very hypothetical n° 218, as well as a fair number of the isoglosses in the second list), particularly those that are notorious Wanderwörter : see for instance the very interesting isoglosses for "plough, hoe" found by Blažek and myself, which would seem to demonstrate a spreading of some components of the Sumerian agricultural vocabulary to India and Africa, in one spectacular case from Lake Chad to Celebes. Fairly clear instances are also the words for "apple", "donkey", "field"[26] and "tin" - to which could be added the notorious "alcool", not listed here, which is ultimately of Sumerian origin through a chain of intermediate Semitic forms[27]. Perhaps we could also add "sheep, lamb", etc. in the second list, as well as "to plough", but I am not willing to commit myself too strongly on this.

At least in principle, one can of course draw inferences from the time at which innovations are known to have been made. A term referring to agriculture, animal husbandry, metallurgy or pottery would at first sight seem not to be ascribable to a proto-language spoken in Paleolithic times, 15,000 years ago for instance. Nevertheless one must realize that a very old term can be specialized independently for new purposes ; for instance, "enclosure" may come to mean "pen, corral", or a general word for "to crush" change to "grind grain" (first wild grain, which must have been the case a long time before sown grain was harvested), and similarly, words for "grindstone", "pestle" may refer to tools used in pre-agricultural techniques, then specialized in agriculture, since a large part of the technical know-how of agriculture was pre-existent to the appearance of farmers (Cauvin 1990). So that the distinction between loans and cognates is much less straightforward than is sometimes thought.

Let me add, that, contrary to common belief, even core items are easily borrowed, for instance numerals, sometimes the whole system or nearly so. Even pronouns can at times pass from one language to another, although Dolgopolsky maintains that this happened only in recent times. As for body-part nomenclature, as I showed in my paper "Analogies lexicales [...]", if we take Buck's list of 47 terms in Indo-European, the number of *clear* look-alikes I was able to find was only 1 or 2 between Russian and Modern Irish ("knee", and perhaps "heart", the latter being actually a spurious cognate !), and only 1 ("beard") between Breton and Latvian. These are the worst cases possible, but they do exist, whatever the over-optimistic textbook writers may state to the contrary.

A short development about borrowings and their various layers in Mesopotamia is indeed necessary. The Sumerian lexicon contains not only late Akkadian loans, but possibly also Afroasiatic words borrowed at an earlier stage, when Sumerians were in contact with Afroasiatic-speaking populations (see the papers by Militarëv (1984), and also Militarëv & Shnirelman (1988) on the Proto-Afroasiatic home, which they place in the Syro-Palestinian area, the Proto-Afroasiatic speakers being equated with the Natufians, a theory that has been independently rediscovered by Renfrew). Indeed we shall see that a number of Sumerian words look suspiciously like Cushitic or Chadic terms (Blažek and myself added to Militarëv's list). Nor is that all : see also Kramer's speculation on an already established Iranian-Semitic, "Ubaidian" syncretic civilization which the Sumerian invaders would have found when they entered Mesopotamia, after having stayed for some time in western Iran (Kramer 1986 ; Wolkstein & Kramer 1983 : 115-116). If the "Iranian" element had a connection with Elamite or Dravidian or some such language, a few of our isoglosses might be accounted for in that way, at least in part (on this see also below).

It has also been observed that Sumerian has a number of personal names of supernatural beings or heroes with a reduplication of the final syllable (those Gelb jokingly called the "banana-words"[28]), and since Sumerian reduplication is typically either of the whole word or part of the first syllable (as in many other languages, such as Elamite or Hatti), some unknown "Pre-Euphratic" substratum may have been responsible for such exotic-looking names of deities (some of which are obviously ancient, as their epithets implies) and heroes, such as Alala, Aruru, Belili, Bilulu, Bunene, Ḫuwawa/Ḫumbaba[29], Kubaba[30], Zababa[31], perhaps even Igigu / Igigi and Inanna[32], the name of the city Sirara, and even some common names such as a-ba-ba "reed", a-la-la "some kind of wooden tool", bi-lu-lu "sedge"[33], probably found in the name of the god Enbilulu[34] ("Lord of the sedges" : he was in charge of the rivers).

Reduplication of the final syllable is attested in Uto-Aztecan, but it only conveys repetition or the like, which is the expected semantics for reduplication, and of little import here (Langacker 1977). But since many of these reduplicated Mesopotamian god names are characterizations, I must point out that there are languages where reduplication is resorted to in order to derive "descriptive stative" verbs (functionally similar to our "adjectives"). Thus final reduplication is well-attested with this function in so-called "nuclear Micronesian languages" (Bender 1971 ; Harrison 1973 ; Moravcsik 1978 : 324). For instance Mokilese pwirej "dirt, soil" --> pwirejrej "dirty", sakai "rock" --> sakaikai "rocky", koalo "root" --> koalohlo "full of roots", dikol "lump" --> dikolkol "lumpy", kadip "to betray" --> kadipdip "treacherous", jirang "wave" --> jirangrang "curly, wavy" ; Kusaiean fiye "grey hair" --> fiyeye "grey-headed" ; Marshallese kewel' "hair" --> kewel'wel' "hairy"[35]. In Twi, where total reduplication is used, it is the way one drives "stony" (aboabó) from "stones" (abó), or "thorny" (nsoensoe) from "thorns" (nsóc). This might give an idea of what could have happened in our Sumerian loanwords. It is true that final reduplication is not unknown even in Semitic adjectives, as in Hebrew yarraraq "greenish", Arabic 'arakrak "thick" (Moscati & alii 1969 : 79).

Secondly, it has also been hypothesized (notably by Igor Diakonoff) that the Pre-Euphratic borrowings could be detected in non-compound disyllabic words with two different vowels, such as apin "plough". But there are strong counter-arguments, because there is no language known to me that evinces this characteristic of what might be called "total vowel harmony" (Boisson "La structure de la syllabe et du mot en sumérien"). Sumerian would then constitute a unique counter-example, so that the burden of the proof is on those that hypothesize such an anomalous structure.

In addition, it is usually stated that such typical geographical names as Eridu, Lagaš, Nippur, Akkad, Buranun (= Euphrates) are not Sumerian[36], as well names in -u(w)a such as Gudua, Nin(u)a, Arua, Menua, and in -ak, such as Šuruppak, Larak, Aksak, Asnak, Zalmak (Gelb 1960b). The latter series might perhaps look like Elamite (cf. Elamite personal names Šilhak, Inšušinak, Šiwepalarhuppak, Šutruk). Incidentally, note that there are also some cases of final reduplication in Elamite names, as in Silhaha, and Šutruru, the name of a priest[37], and also Belala, "deus quidam Elam"[38]. Could it be that Sumerian was influenced by an Elamite-type adstratum or substratum ?

To sum up these speculative considerations on the successive layers of borrowing : Sumerian may have borrowed words from unknown languages in the Iranian area broadly conceived, where the Pre-Sumerians may have been living at some remote period. Then it may have borrowed words from unknown languages in Mesopotamia, as well as from unspecified Afroasiatic languages. Finally it borrowed words from Akkadian. I say "borrowed from", but actually, apart from clear cases of words with a typically Sumerian shape, or with a typical Akkadian (Semitic) shape, the direction of borrowing is not easy to ascertain in all cases.

A brief note on the phonological make-up of the numerous proto-families and languages mentioned : the number of stop series is 3 for Nostratic, Sino-Caucasian, as well as for Afroasiatic (voiced /

voiceless / glottalized in all three cases, it would seem), 3 also for Indo-European (with various competing theories), 2 or 3 for Altaic, 2 for Sumerian, 1 for Dravidian and Uralic. And as a final word of caution, I must stress again the uncertainties regarding the phonological shape of Sumerian words, particularly vowels, s(h)ibilants, rhotics, and even at times the number of syllables[39]. The Sumerian script makes it difficult to recover the phonology of Sumerian, so that, as already mentioned, the readings of quite a few signs have changed over the years.

A. References

See the complete alphabetical list of references at the end. Quite a few sources quoted by Blažek are mentioned at second-hand.

The English list of 224 basic words in alphabetical order is taken from Penchoen (1968) ; numbers have been added to it (there are obviously many holes in this list, since only some of the notions are supposedly represented here). To facilitate its quick use, French, German, and Russian equivalents are given for each word (but I have not done this translation for the second list). I had previously resorted to Penchoen's list in order to compile lists for Nostratic and Sumerian respectively, which were then amalgamated to obtain part of this paper.

The **Nostratic** data for this compilation are taken from (order of quotation in entries) : Illic&-Svityc& (1971, 1976, 1984) ; Illič-Svityč (1967) ; Illič-Svityč (1968) ; Dolgopolsky (1974) ; Dolgopolsky (1984) ; Dolgopolsky (1989) "Problems of Nostratic historical phonology" ; Dolgopolsky (1989) "Nostratic vowels in Indo-European" ; Dolgopolsky (1989) "On the origin of the Altaic ascending diphthongs in the light of external comparison" ; Blažek (1982) "Some Nostratian etymologies (first part)" ; Blažek (1983) "Some Nostratic etymologies (second part)" ; Blažek (1989) "Kartvelian material in the Nostratic lexicon [...]" ; Starostin (1986) ; Starostin (1989) ; Bomhard (1988, to appear) ; Bomhard (1989, to appear) ; Dybo (1989a) ; Hegedűs (1988) ; Hegedűs (1990).

The **Sumerian** data used in this paper were taken from : *Assyrian Dictionary* (= CAD) ; Bauer (1967) ; Bauer (1975) ; Behrens & Steible (1983) ; Boisson (1989) "Sumerian terms for caprines and antelopes" ; Borger (1964) ; Borger (1981) ; Babó (1984) ; Castellino (1972) ; Civil (1966) ; Deimel (1925-1950) ; Delitzsch 1914 ; Diakonoff (1967) ; Diakonoff (1983) ; Falkenstein (1949-1950) ; Falkenstein (1959) ; Farber-Flügge (1973) ; Foxvog & Kilmer (1975) ; Fronzaroli (1984) ; Glassner (1985) ; Gordon (1958) ; Gordon (1959) ; Grégoire (1976) ; Heimpel (1968) ; Hübner & Reizammer (1984) ; Hübner & Reizammer (1985-1986) ; Jacobsen (1983) ; Jestin (1943, 1946, 1954) ; Jestin 1965 ; Klein (1981) ; Kramer (1949) ; Krecher (1966) ; Krecher (1979) ; Labat (1976) ; Lambert (1974) ; Landsberger (1929) ; Landsberger (1935-1936) ; Landsberger (1969) ; Lieberman 1977 ; Militarëv (1984) ; MSL (see bibliography) ; Poebel (1923) ; Salonen (1951) ; Salonen (1968) ; Salonen (1976) ; Sjöberg (1960) ; Sjöberg (1973) ; Sjöberg & Bergmann (1969) ; Sjöberg & alii (1984) ; Sollberger (1952) ; Steible (1982) ; Thomsen (1984) ; Yoshikawa (1968).

Sino-Caucasian data have been added mainly from Starostin (1989) , with the number of the entry, and from Bengtson (1989b). Also from Benedict (1972), Benedict (1976), Diakonoff & Starostin (1986), Nikolaev & Starostin (1987), Pejros (1988), Starostin (1982), Starostin (1984), and Starostin (1988).

Burushaski data are from Lorimer, or from Pejros, or from de Grolier (who looked at the Yasin dialect described by Berger (1974), not consulted by me). Other words are taken directly from Bengtson 1989b.

Afroasiatic data were taken from Bomhard (1984), Bynon (1984), D. Cohen (1970, 1976), M. Cohen (1947), Diakonoff, ed. (1981-1986), Dolgopolsky (1973), Ebert (1978), Ehret (1980), Gelb (1957), Militarëv (1984, two papers), Militarëv, Orël & Stolbova (1989), Newman (1977), Orël & Stolbova (1988), Skinner (1984), Stolbova (1987), and from Blažek's paper on Dravidian / Afroasiatic isoglosses (1989), some of whose entries have been repeated here with slight modifications. For some words, additional data will be found in Blažek & Boisson (1989).

Altaic data from Dybo (1989a), von Gabain (1974) and Poppe (1960), and from an unpublished paper by de Grolier.

Indo-European data from Benveniste (1935), Benveniste (1969), Buck (1949), Chantraine (1968), Delamarre (1984), Mann (1984-1987), Starostin (1988), Vennemann (1989), Watkins (1985), Watkins (1989).

Dravidian data mainly from Burrow & Emeneau (1984), also from Emeneau (1975), Krishnamurti (1958), Krishnamurti (1961), McAlpin (1981) Steever (1984), Zvelebil (1970).

Nilo-Saharan is from Greenberg 1970, also Bender 1983, Mukarovsky 1987.

Elamite has been checked in Hallock (1969), Hinz & Koch (1987).

Other data (Austroasiatic, Austronesian, "Amerindian", etc.) are quoted from various sources.

B. Organization of the entries and abbreviations

The entries are listed in the alphabetical order of the meanings in English, first for the "basic" vocabulary, then for the other words or morphemes. For each entry, the first line gives the words corresponding to the 224 basic notions in four languages. Then, when Nostratic is implied, the data in Illič-Svityč's *Opyt* or "Materialy" are given first, with the number of the entry, then the proto-forms from Dolgopolsky's publications, and then from Starostin's, Bomhard's, and Blažek's (see the abbreviations below).

When the meaning of the Sumerian word or various etyma are not given, they are exactly the same as that of the entry. If the meaning of the Sumerian word may pose problems, various sources are mentioned. If the Sumerian word seems to be attested in only one source, this fact is also mentioned.

If we are to trust the script, many Sumerian words have a form with a final consonant (CVC) and another form where this consonant is followed by a vowel (CV_1CV_2), for instance luḫ or luḫu "to wash". The second variant will not be systematically mentioned, as V_1 and V_2 are exactly the same in virtually all cases[40].

Abbreviations for the publications :

AHw = von Soden's *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* . Bm = Bomhard's papers, with the entry number (B's forms are usually not quoted if they are already in I-S, Dolgopolsky, or Starostin). B-C = Blažek's "Some comments..." (1990). B-DA = Blažek's "New Dravidian-

Afroasiatic parallels", with the entry number. B-NE1 = Blažek's "Some Nostratian etymologies (first part)". B-NE2 = Blažek's "Some Nostratic etymologies (second part)". Be = Bengtson's "Notes on Sino-Caucasian". CAD = *Assyrian Dictionary* . DA = Dolgopolsky's "Altaic ascending diphthongs", with the entry number. DEDR = Burrow & Emeneau 1984, with the number of the entry. DP = Dolgopolsky's "Problems of Nostratic historical phonology", with the entry number. DV = Dolgopolsky's "Nostratic vowels", with the entry number. FUV = Collinder 1955. I-S = Illič-Svityč, referring to *Opyt* or to *Materialy* . M = Illič-Svityč's "Materialy", with the page number. N-S = Nikolaev & Starostin 1987. O = Illič-Svityč's *Opyt* , with number of entry. PSD = *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary* = Sjöberg & alii, eds. (1984). S = Starostin's "Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian", with the entry number when Sino-Caucasian is quoted. SGE : Boisson's "Some Sumerian grammatical elements in a Nostratic perspective". SISAJ = Diakonoff, ed. (1981-1986). UEW = Rédei (1986-).

Abbreviations for languages and language families :

A = Altaic. AA = Afroasiatic. Akk = Akkadian. Ath = Athabaskan. Ba = Basque. Be = Bedawiye. Arm = Armenian. Bu = Burushaski : C = Central. Ch = Chadic. Cu = Cushitic. Dr = Dravidian. E = East. EC = East Caucasian. Eg = Egyptian. FU = Finno-Ugric. Ga = Gadba. Gk = Greek. Go = Gondi. HG = High German. IE = Indo-European. K = Kartvelian. Ka = Kannada. Kp = Kota. Kod = Kodagu. Kol = Kolami. Kur = Kurukh. Ma = Malayalam. M = Middle. Mo = Mongolian. NC = North Caucasian. ND = Na-Dene. NEC = Northeastern Caucasian. Nk = Naikri. Nos = Nostratic. OK = Old Korean. Om = Omotic. Pa = Parji. Pe = Pengo. OT = Old Turkish. S = south. SC = Sino-Caucasian. Se = Semitic. Skt = Sanskrit. ST = Sino-Tibetan. Sum = Sumerian. Ta = Tamil. TB = Tibeto-Burman. Te = Telugu. Tk = Turkic. TM = Tungusic-Mandju. To = Toda. Tu = Tulu. U = Uralic. WC = West Caucasian, Ye = Yeniscian.

I have used asterisks for proto-forms in well-established families and phyla, and double asterisks for reconstructions in hypothetical super-phyla. I have not used systematically the words "Proto-X", which are self-evident. Thus "Dr *ūr-" is to be interpreted as Proto-Dravidian, unless it is obviously the etymon for a sub-family, or even a small number of Dravidian languages (as will be made clear), etc.

C. Symbols for the transcriptions

a) For Illič-Svityč's, Starostin's, and Blažek's publications

// around phonemes = those phonemes are the best, but not the only possible reconstruction
() around phonemes = optional phonemes
[] around a reconstructed form = a reconstruction based on the data of one language family
? = uncertainty symbol for a reconstruction
A = a or ä
C' = "glottalized" (i.e. ejective) consonant (for which Illič-Svityč has an underdotted symbol)
Ç = a retroflex consonant in Dravidian
C' = palatalized consonant
Č = hushing sibilants and affricates
Ć = palatalized consonant
E = ä, e, or i
H = undetermined laryngeal or post-velar
K = g, k, k', or q'
K' = k' or q'
L = unspecified lateral resonant (l or ɬ in initial position ; l, ɬ, or l' in medial position)
N = unspecified dental nasal (n, ń, or ñ)
P = unspecified voiceless labial stop (p or p')
R = unspecified trill (r or ŕ)
S = unspecified s(h)ibilant : s, ś, š, or z
T = t or t'
U = o, u, or ü
V = unspecified vowel (for which Illič-Svityč has ʌ)
c = [t͡s]
ɡ = voiced post-velar stop (different from g)
ʒ = [d͡z]
ɧ = voiceless pharyngeal fricative (IPA [ħ])
ʒ, ʒ́, ǯ = voiced affricates
ɬ = cacuminal l
λ = voiced lateral fricative (IPA [ɮ])
ñ = cacuminal n
š = voiceless lateral fricative (IPA [ɬ])
other symbols as in the linguistic literature

b) For Dolgopolsky's publications

a\|b = a or b

\a\ = a or similar (D. has a different type of symbol : the ⟨⟩ brackets)
{a} = a or zero
/a/ = probably a (D. has a different type of brackets, not available to me)
E = unspecified front vowel
X = unspecified back (or non-front) vowel
L = unspecified lateral resonant
N = unspecified n-sound
P = unspecified labial stop
U = unspecified rounded vowel
ṇ, ḷ = postalveolar (cacuminal, retroflex ?) n, l, that is IPA [ɳ] and [ɭ] respectively (D. has the grave accent on the l)
ĉ, ĉ', ʒ̂, ŝ, ẑ = lateral obstruents
y = Illič-Svityč's j

c) For Bomhard's publications

Bomhard's glottalic consonants (and his whole reconstruction generally, based on the glottalic theory of Indo-European) are different from the standard Nostratic theory (Illič-Svityč, Dolgopolsky, Starostin).

d) Varia

In Dravidian, "for those languages that have the contrast [...], r is the post-dental flap and ṛ is the alveolar trill [...]" (*DEDR* , p. xi). Incidentally, one of the remarkable outcomes of Illič-Svityč's Nostratic theory is the demonstration that r and ṛ are the result of a phonologization of two allophones in second syllables of Nostratic words, one before back vowels, and the other before front vowels (Illič-Svityč 1971 : 150, note 6 ; Dybo 1989b : 23-24). There is yet another rhotic to be described : "r≠ is a retracted (or retroflex) fricative" (*DEDR* , p. xi). It would appear that Proto-Dravidian *c = [tʃ] (Emeneau 1988), although Krishnamurti considered that the phoneme *c was realized as [ts] before back vowels and [tʃ] before front vowels, as is the case in some modern languages ; "comparative evidence does not warrant the postulation of an *s phoneme beside a *c phoneme" (Krishnamurti 1961 : 20-21). For r≠, which goes back to a Proto-Dravidian voiced retroflex fricative, see also Zvelebil (1970 : 29-30), and Krishnamurti (1958) ; "the sound is definitely unlike a trill or an affricate in any of the languages in which it still obtains" (Krishnamurti 1969 : 318). McAlpin (1981 : 93) states that "in the few languages where it is clearly maintained (Tamil and Malayalam), it is a retroflex approximant [ɹ], similar to a midwestern American *r* ". So, in any case, r≠ is a rhotic.

Dravidian has just one series of stops, while Sumerian had a two-series stop system.

The notations for Indo-European from the various sources have not been unified as this is largely irrelevant for our purpose (except perhaps in the case of so-called laryngeals) : for instance some use the "laryngeals" informally, others not, most are not "glottalic", while a few are, etc. I have used y and w instead of the more cumbersome i̯ and u̯.

Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite have ḫ, which, at least in Sumerian, was probably /x/ or /χ/, and should not be confused with a possible /h/ (this /h/, which has been posited by some Assyriologists might very well be a typological necessity, in view of the constraints studied in Boisson "Contraintes typologiques [...]"). Sumerian g̃ is very probably /ŋ/. The grave and acute accents and the numbers are conventions used to distinguish so-called "homophones" since Thureau-Dangin. The conventional Assyriological notations for stops, p, t, k, and b, d, g, are unlikely to correspond to a voicing contrast (see the note above).

In North Caucasian, the sign I after a consonant symbolizes the pharyngealization of the previous obstruent, and G is the voiced uvular stop, as in IPA (Starostin 1984).

FIRST LIST : THE BASIC WORD LIST (224 NOTIONS)

An asterisk after the number indicates that the notion belongs to the 100-word list. The notational conventions are explained in the introduction.

1 all tout alles весь

SC : **kŭl- "all" (Be 112), only on the basis of Sum and ST (actually TB *kul "all")

Sum : kil, kili, kìli "Versammlung, Gesamtheit, Summe" ; kìlib-ba "all" (Farber-Flügge 1973).

Comp. by Bengtson, with Sum data slightly modified by Boisson. But note AA : Se *kwl "all", as pointed out by Bengtson himself, so that the SC / Sum comp. is doubtful.

6 back[41] dos Rücken спина

See "shoulder"

11* big grand gross большой

a) Dr : Ka kol, kul "length, largeness" ; Te kolu "big, huge ; much, very" (DEDR 2239, for these two languages only)

Sum : gul "groß" (Castellino 1972 : 174), "sehr gross, gewaltig gross" (AHw 1283) ; gu-la "big" (Lieberman 1977 : 259, n° 274), after gal, gala$_x$, gu-lá, gú-lá

b) AA *gal(w) : Se Arabic ǧalla "gross, erhaben sein, mächtig", Tigre sjaglala "ohnmächtig werden (Christian, WZKM 1959 : 168-170 ; Müller HS 1975 : 68, n° 61) ; NOm : Koyra, Ganjule (Fleming), Gidicho (Bender) galāla "long" ; CCh : Hidkala (Lukas) gal "gross", Mafa (Mouchet) gwǫla "grand", Banane (Lukas) góla "dick", Musey (Kraft) ngolo "big" ; ECh Mohulu goolè "gross" (Lukas). See Mukarovsky 1987 : 93.

IE : *g^{h}al- "hard, strong" (Mann)

Sum : gal "big"

Comp. in B-C.

c) Nos : **magV (M 331), with additional K (*mag-ar- "strong") and AA data (ECu, CCh) in B-C

Sum : maḫ "great, sublime"

Comp. independently by Boisson and Machonkin, but already in Autran. There is a problem with the final consonant, though, which makes the comp. unsatisfactory.

d) IE : *meH- "big" (Pokorny 704)
AA : Se *ma'ād- "plenty", etc. (Segert 1984 : 191), and Se *mi' "hundred"
? Dr : *mā- "great" (DEDR 4786, for Ta, Ma, Ka, Go only)
Sum : maḫ "great, sublime"
Comp. in B-SC, much more convincing than b) above.

12* bird oiseau Vogel птица
AA : *bir- / bur- ? "to fly" : Beja bīr "fliegen", bir "Flug" ; CCu : Xamir, Awngi bir (Reinisch) ; ECu *-brir- "to fly", cf. Burji burr- "to fly" (Sasse 1982 : 44) ; Se : Tigre bärra, Harari bärärä "to fly" (Leslau 1963 : 46)
Dr : a) *puḷ- "bird" (DEDR 4319, only in Ta, Ma, Ko, To, Te) ; b) *puṛā "dove, pigeon" (DEDR 4334, for all branches of Dr)
Sum : burᵤ₅ "bird, flock of birds ; locust" (PSD), "sparrow" (Gordon 1959)
AA data in B-C. Imperfect phonetic and semantic fits. Some words may be onomatopoeic.

15* blood sang Blut кровь
a) Nos : **K'urV (O 237 = DV 102)
Sum : gurun, gur "blood" ; also kurum, kurun (Deimel, CAD, AHw).

b) SC : **mult- (Be 45)
AA : ECu : Sidamo münde, Darasa munde "blood" (Bender)
Sum : múd "blood"
Comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson. But his SC form is based only on Sum and Bu mUltʌn "blood". AA data in B-C.

c) SC : **$h_1$oc "heart" (Be 48), based on Ba bi-hotz, Bu -ʌs "heart, mind", Sum only.
Sum : úš "blood"
Note that the roots for "blood" in SC are different in Starostin 1984, n° 7. Sum uš = "blood, vein, blood-vessel, corpse, death, to die", rather than "blood ; love, mercy, understanding", a conflation of meanings in Delitzsch quoted in Bengtson.

16 blow souffler blasen дуть
a) Nos : **bVl'HV "to blow, inflate" (O 29)
Sum : bul
Onomatopoeia ?

b) Nos : **p'ušV (onomatop.) (M 339)
Sum : peš₅

18* breast sein Brust грудь
a) Nos : **ʕ/e/bU "breast" (onomatopoeic) (O 138), based on AA, K, A ; I-S gives A */e/bü- "breast, bosom", Mo *ebü-r ("where -r is probably a relic from the Altaic plural marker"), while Poppe (1960 : 43) gives *ebür < *ep-ü-r. Note that K has u as its first vowel, as in Georgian ube.
Sum : ubur "woman's breast"
Why Illič-Svityč considers the Nos form as onomatopoeic is far from obvious.

b) AA : WCh *gaba "breast, front part" (Stolbova 1987 : 214, n° 644) ; ?? cf. M. Cohen : 15, n° 230 bis, with AA words in *k'Vb- for "stomach, belly ; breast, etc." ; there may be similar words in other Ch families, as I find Kera (ECh) gàw "breast of a woman" (Ebert 1978 : 49)
Sum : gaba "breast"
A chance similarity, or a borrowing by Sum from some AA language ? Note that Cu is different from Ch : *gVt- (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 244).

21* burn[42] brûler brennen жечь
a) IE : *bʰlaĝrō "burn, flame", *bʰlaĝ- "blaze, flash", *bʰlug- / *bʰulg- "flash, gleam" (Mann)
AA : *bəl (Militarëv 1984)
Bu : bʌlaˑs (Lorimer)
Sum : bil
Comp. between AA and Sum by Militarëv, who implies it might be a borrowing. IE data in B-C.

b) FU : Komi könaśny "to warm up"
A : *kŭŋV "to burn" (Starostin) : MMo küŋküni "to smell as something singed" ; TM *xuŋ(-gV-) "to singe" ; OT köy, kön "burn", going back to *kōń (Räsänen, quoted by Blažek, Détrois).
AA : WCh *k'$^{w/y}$an- "to burn", CCh : Gude gwun "fire", etc. ; North Om : Sezo k'inc "to burn", etc.
Dr : *kaŋ- "to be hot, burn" (DEDR 1406) in SDr, CDr
Sum : gunni "brazier"
Comp. between OT and Sum by de Grolier, AA data from Blazek (p.c.). FU, A, Dr data form B-C, who also lists numerous extra-Nostratic parallels in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Sino-Tibetan (*kāŋ

"to burn, roast, toast", *kaŋ "to dry up", from Benedict 1972 : 71, n° 132 ; 158, n° 164, 190), ND, Munda, Austronesian, and Amerindian languages (see Blažek's paper "Global etymologies")

See also "brazier" below.

24 clothing habillem[t] Kleidung одежда

Nos : **t'ogV (Dolgopolsky quoted by Shevoroshkin (p. c.))
Sum : túg, tu_9 "cloth, garment"

25* cloud nuage Wolke облако

a) IE : *d^{h}eng^{w}os, *d^{h}eng^{w}is "dark, cloudy" : Germanic *denkwaz, *dankwiaz "dark" in Old Icelandic dökkr, OHG tunkar, Old Saxon dunkar, Old Frisian diunk, Dutch donker ; Welsh dew "cloud, heavy weather" ; Hittite dankus, dankwis "dark, black, impure" (ambiguous) (Bomhard 1984 : 115 ; Delamarre 1984 : 181 ; Mann : 194)

AA : Se : Arabic duğna, daiğur "Dunkelheit" (Brunner 1969 : 75, n° 410), duğug- "darkness, cloud" < *dğy/w "to cover" (SISAJ II : 69, n° 138) ; Akk andugū "cloud ?" (borrowed from Sumerian ? : D. Cohen : 25) ; ECu : Burji dukkán-, Oromo dukkan-a, Konso-Gidole, Dullay tukkan "cloud, darkness" (Sasse 1982 : 57) ; WCh *t'unkwi "black" (Stolbova 1987 : 168, n° 211)

A : TM : Manchu duŋi "dark" (TMS 224)
Sum : dungu "cloud"
Se, Cu, TM data in B-C.

b) Dr : *mūṭam (not NDr) : Ta mūṭam "dark, clouded sky" ; Ma mūṭal "dark sky" ; Ka mōḍa "cloud, cloudiness, cloudy day, hazy weather" ; Kod mōḍa "cloud" ; Tu mūḍa "cloud" ; Kol mūḍam "fog" ; Go mūṛam "mist" ; Kui muḍengi "cloud, sky" (DEDR 5033, and cf. n° 5034 Ta mūṭu "to cover, shroud, veile, hide", etc., and also n° 5002)

Sum : $muru_9$, $muru_x$ = Akk *imbaru* "Sum $muru_x$ seems to mean 'heavy cloud, cloud heavy with rain'" (Sjöberg & Bergmann 1969 : 78, n° 136) ; "Nebel, Nebeliegen" (AHw), "Nebel ? Wetterwolke ? Unsicher" (Borger) ; cf. Heimpel 1968 : 447, CAD sub Akk word "1. fog, haze ; 2. mist, mistlike drizzle"

26* cold[43] froid kalt холодный

SC : **tin- (Bc 120 ; nothing similar in Starostin 1984), based on Sum, Bu t^{h}aatine / t^{h}ʌtine "cold (i.e. without clothes)" ; ND *tin-q- "to freeze, ice"

AA : ECu *ḍamḥ- "cold" (Sasse 1979 : 25, 36)

A : OT toŋ "frost, cold" (Räsänen 1969 : 488) ; TM doŋ "frost, cold". This root is compared by Räsänen (1955 : 37) with U : Volgaic *taŋka-ta "steif, starr" (OEW 791)

Dr : *taḷ- / *taṇ- "cold, cool" (Zvelebil 1970 : 101 ; DEDR 3045) ; cf. Indian thaṇḍha- / ṭhaṇḍha-. But Zvelebil considers that *taḷ- / *taṇ- < *caḷ- / *caṇ- (some languages have c-, and cf. DEDR 2408, with caḷ-, not in NDr)

Sum : ten

Comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson ; the doubtful Dr data are from Boisson. Cu, TM, U data in B-C.

30 cry[44] pleurer weinen плакать

Bu : her "weinen" (cf. Lorimer, vol. 3, p. 199)
Sum ér "weinen, Beweinung, Träne"

Comp. between Sum and Bu by de Grolier. Note that some Sumerologists have postulated a Sumerian /h/, so that it is reasonable to imagine that "to weep" may have been something like /her/.

31 cut couper schneiden резать

a) Nos : **č'ArV "to cut" (O 53)
Sum : $ša_5$

b) Nos : **q'urV "edge, tip, cut" (O 344)
Sum : kur_5 ; gur_5, gùruš

c) Nos : **k'o/t'/V (M 360)
Sum : kud, ku_5

d) Nos : **t'ar- / **t'er- "to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever" (Bm 100)
Sum : tar

A priori one should not be surprised to find so many isoglosses for "cut", since we notice that this notion is abundantly represented in most etymological dictionaries, probably because the populations speaking ancient proto-languages had to "make a large number of semantic distinctions in this area, according to the nature of the material being cut, the implement used to do the cutting, the kind of motion used by the cutter, the size and shape of the pieces produced, etc." (Matisoff 1978 : 139). With such a vague meaning there is nevertheless a considerable risk of gathering spurious analogs.

See also "split" (N° 169).

33 day jour Tag день

a) Nos : **HütV "time of rest" (O 120), on the basis of 1) A : OT öd "time, moment, period, hour, season" (von Gabain), Mo üde "Mittag(stunde)" (KW 455, Räsänen 1969 : 368). In O (120) ; 2) U *(j)ütV "evening". To these can perhaps be added : 3) AA forms : Cu : Beja hawid- "spend the evening / night", hawād "evening / night" ; CCu : Qware awāda "evening, night" ; ECu : Gidole awedat "night", Burji (hi)yedi "night"

Nilo-Saharan : C Sudanic : Moru ud?u, Madi od?u ; Saharan : Zaghawa utto "sun" ; Fur udo ; Coman : Gule ta: "sun, day", Kome (Madin) tai "day" (Greenberg 1970 : 120, n° 28 ; 137, n° 44)

Sum : ud, udu "day, time" ; note that Lieberman (1977 : 423-424, n° 530) gives odu_x. Cf. utu "sun" (see also below under n° 56 "fire") ?

Mo, Cu, Nos data in B-C.

b) SC : **HiGu(N) "sun, day" (Be 68 ; nothing similar in Starostin 1984)

Nilo-Saharian : Nubian *ug "day" > Old Nubian oγk, Nile Nubian ug-r-es, Kordofanian Nubian ul < *ugil, Meidob ū < *ug (Zyhlarz WZKM 35 (1978) : 94 ; ZES 23 (1932-33) : 237)

Sum : ug "light, day" (Be, but see below)

Comp. by Bengtson. But ug is "light, brightness", rather than "sun, day". Nilo-Saharan data in B-C.

35 dig creuser graben копать

Nos : **dunʏ- / **donʏ- "to cut, to cut off, to cleave, to split" (Bm 65)

Sum : dun "to dig (with a hoe)"

Comp. in Bm 65. But note that in fact the AA, IE and Dr forms mean "to cut" rather than "to dig", as in Sum.

37* dog chien Hund собака

a) AA : Cu *kVr- / *kVɲ- "dog" (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 206) ; Beja karā́y, cf. Geez karāyī , Tigre kärray "hyena" (Reinisch) ; Ch *kər- (Newman 1977) : WCh *kʷ/ʏarV "dog, hyaena" (Stolbova 1987 : 210, n° 610), CCh (Biu-Mandara) : Kotoko *kVrV "dog" (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 206), ECh : Kera (Tuburi) kórne "hyena" (Müller HS 1975 : 67, n° 47)

A : MTk karsak "Steppenfuchse", kkir, karyškyr "Wolf" (Räsänen 1969 : 238-239, 267) ; Mo kirsa "grauer Steppenfuchs, Korsak", Manchu kirsa (perhaps from Mo) (KW 232)

Dr : *kiɽ- + a second element, in some languages : Ko kirbn "leopard" ; To kïrmēn "leopard" ; Ka kiɽaba "leopard", kiɽaba, katte-kiɽaba, etc. "hyaena" ; Tu katte-kurbe "id." (where katte is "ass") (DEDR 1599)

Nilo-Saharan : SE Mande : Samo kúrù "hyaena" (Mukarovsky 1987 : 224)

Sum : kir_4, kìri = Akk *būṣu* "hyaena" (CAD, AHw). Cf. Salonen (1976 : 193-194).

Hyaenas and leopards are "spotted carnivores" as characterized elsewhere by Dolgopolsky ("South Cushitic lateral consonants" : 208). Mande has been classified differently, e.g. in Niger-Congo by Greenberg, in "Congo-Saharan" by Gregersen, Bender. A, Beja, ECh data in B-C.

b) AA : *w/yV(H)r "hyaena"

Sum : ur "dog"

Comp. by Militarëv, who suggests that Sum is a loan from AA. But they can be independent onomatopoeias : cf. Dr *ōri- "to howl ; jackal" (DEDR 1061 for Ta, Ma, Tu, Ga).

43 earth terre Erde земля

SC : **mäl- "earth" (Be 75), based on NC *məl-ʒ́ʒ́V "earth, place" (N-S) ; Sum ; Bu (Werchikwar) mʌl / mal, Hunza mʌl "field" ; ST : TB *mləy, based on Benedict and Shafer

Sum : ma, ma-da "land"

Comp. by Bengtson.

44* eat manger essen есть

Nos : **K'UmV "swallow, devour" (O 242)

[see SCu : *gwʕ "to swallow", exs. : Iraqw, Alagwa guʕ-, Asa goʕ- (Ehret n° 49 : 240), CCu : Bilin qʷi, Xamir, Qwara xū, Kemant ḫū, Awngi xū, Damot qü "eat" (Reinisch, Conti Rossini) ; ECh : Kera ku "mouth" (Ebert 1978 : 48)]

Sum : gu7, kú, ka-gub (where ka is "mouth", q. v.)

Very poor. CCu data in B-C.

45* egg œuf Ei яйцо

Nos : ? **muña "egg" (O 307)

Sum : nunuz "egg" ; a possible dissimilation ? Or more probably a reduplication of nuz "egg" also attested (in AHw) ? There is also Sum numun "seed".

Very poor evidence.

47* eye œil Auge глаз

Nos : **HuK'a "eye, see" (O 118) = **Huk'a (S) = **\ʕ\uK'a (DV 85)
SC : **-gwV "see" (S 35)
Sum : igi
Bengtson (Be 3) has a different comp., with his SC form **?ilHi, but I find it less satisfactory.

48 fall tomber fallen падать
Nos : ?** Ku/s/i "to fall" (O 186), based on : 1) U *ku/ś/e- (not in UEW), itself based only on NSaami gâč'čâ- "to fall" and Mansi (Vogul) kåsy- "to fall down (on stumbling)" ; 2) Dr *kuc(i)- "to bend, stoop, shrink, sink, go down, below..." (DEDR 1636), only for Ka, Tu, Kor, Te
Sum : guz = Akk *napalsuḫu(m)* "to fall to the ground, to fall upon something, to throw oneself to the ground, to let oneself fall to the ground (in supplication, despair, etc.), to squat, to cower" (CAD), "niederfallen, sich hinhocken [= to crouch]" (AHw)

49 far loin[45] fern дальний
a) Nos : **kʷ[ʰ]ul- / **kʷ[ʰ]ol- "far off, far away, distant" (Bm 241)
Sum : kur$_6$ "éloigner, déplacer" (Sollberger)

b) Bu : it, iti "dort"
Sum : idim "entfernt sein"
Comp. by de Grolier.

50* fat[46] graisse Fett жир
a) A : OT yaɣ, ya:ɣ "Fett" (von Gabain 1974)
Sum : ià "fat"
Comp. by de Grolier.
See also n° 139 "rub".

b) Dr : *kor≠- "fat", including of animals (Krishnamurti 1958 : 289 ; see the words in DEDR 2146)
A *k'iar'V "fat" (Starostin) : Tk kăr̈ ; Mo karbiŋ ; M Korean kirïm (Räsänen 1969 : 243 ; KW 24 ; Starostin Alt., Ms.), or Mo kür "dick, feist" (KW 246-247)
Sum : kuruš, guruš, kuš$_6$ "fattened (said of domestic animals), to fatten" (CAD), "gemästet, fett ; mästen" (AHw), "gras" (Labat) ; cf. MSL VIII/1, 15, 90, and Landsberger 1935-1936 : 149.
A data in B-C.

See also below "fat (animal, person) / to fatten", and n° 139 "to rub".

51 father père Vater отец

Nos : a) **?ab- "father ; forefather" (Bm 362)
Nos : b) **?at[ḫ]- / **?at[ḫ]- , etc. (Bm 351)
Sum : ab, ab-ban, a-ba, a ; ad, ad-da

52 fear peur Furcht страх
Nos : **naḫV "to fear" (B-NE2) = **naň- / **neň- "to fear" (Bm 452)
Sum : nĺ

56* fire feu Feuer огонь
a) Nos : **?aSa "fire, be hot" (M 352), based on IE *Hes-, A *asa, Tk *yS- "warm", Mo *asa- "to bask", AA *Hʷis (the latter in Militarëv 1984) ; cf. OT isig "hot, fever" (de Grolier), Dr *ic- "fire" (DEDR 428), FU *äsV- "to heat, ignite". Cf. Mo *isu "soot" (Poppe 1960 : 116), as pointed out by Détrois. Morvan has drawn my attention to a number of Basque verbs in iz- meaning "to set fire to, to burn" ("allumer, brûler" = izeki, izetu, izio). The Nostratic data seem to have a front vowel, often i, in spite of I-S's reconstruction, which may justify a reconstruction such as **?eSa (Orël & Stolbova : 71, n° 33). Dolgopolsky (Comp. dict. 1989) reconstructs Nos **?ülsV "fire" on the basis of AA, Ugric *ülsV "to fire (oven)", Dr. Dolgopolsky excludes Tk is-sü "o heat" because it belongs (see Khalaǯ hissi "warm") to Nos **piś/šV "hot, to heat", known from AA : Eg psj "to cook, bake", Beja fsy "foudre" and U *p[i]š/ŝE "hot". On the other hand, see IE *Has- "hearth, to dry" ; Mo asa- "to burn". Dolgopolsky (op. cit.) reconstructs Nos **/H/aŝ/o/ "to burn", also on the basis of SCu *âŝa "fire", ? ECu > Bayso elen "fire" ; K : Svan -šw- "to light / kindle a fire". Note that there is also IE *eus- "burn" (Mann), which could belong here.
SC **-cV "burn, heat" (S 38) ; Bc 65 has SC **c'Vjʉ- "fire" based on Ba su "fire, hearth" ; NC *c'ăjɪ "fire" (N-S) ; Sum ; Bu -cc / -si / -ʌcii "to set fire to, burn" ; ST : TB *ca "hot, sore" ; ND : various forms. Ye : Ket uś "warm" (Bouda, Orbis 1968 : 181 [Ket + Mansi oš-il "wärmen"])
Sum : izi
Comp. between AA and Sum by Militarëv, who implies Sum izi might be a borrowing from AA. SC data added by Boisson. Independent comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson. Data from Dolgopolsky in B-C. Trombetti (Less. 450) compared IE and FU. Note on Trombetti, IE *eus , Ye from B-C, who also mentions Mon-Khmer *us "firewood" (after Shafer, Studia Orientalia 1966 : 60).

b) A : OT ot, oot ; Mo ōt, both "fire" (von Gabain, Poppe)
Sum : utu "sun, sun-god"
See also above under n° 33 "day". Cf. perhaps Nos **qoti "(to kindle) fire" (O 343) (Nos data in B-C).

c) SC : **qun- "fire" (Be 62), based on Sum ; ST *kun "smoke" (Benedict 1972) ; ND : Eyak -qu?- "fire (prefix)", Ath *kʷUn? "fire"
Sum : gunni "hearth, brazier"
Comp. by Bengtson.

See also n° 202 "warm", and the words for "brazier".

57* fish poisson Fisch рыба
Dr : *kār- " a fish" (DEDR 1476, but only in Ta and Ma)
AA : *kary/w- "fish" (Se, ECu, SOm, Ch)
Cf. U : *korV "fish
Cf. Tk *kōra "trout" ; TM *koru "pike"
Sum : kir, gir_{14} "fish"
Whole entry from B-DA 65.

flesh : see **meat / flesh** (n° 108)

60 flow couler fliessen течь
a) Nos : **ŋuru "flow, pour" (O 98)
SC : **HwVrHV "flow, pool, water body" (S 27)
Sum : gígri (gir_5-gir_5)

b) Nos : **šarV "flow, stream, lake" (M 369), to which can be added : AA : Se : Arabic sara'yy "stream" (Brunner 1969 : 104, n° 567) ; WCh : NBauchi *sirV "river, brook" (Stolbova 1987 : 254, n° 82)
SC : **šOrV "flow, stream, lake" (S 170)
Sum : zar "filer, jaillir, couler" (Labat n° 491), "tröpfeln" (AHw 1084)
AA data in B-C.

c) Nos : **ćurV (M 369) ; and cf. Dr *cōr- "to flow" (DEDR 2883, pan-Dr)
Bu : sər "inundation, flood" (Lorimer)
Sum : šur, sur "to flow" (CAD sub Akk *ṣarāru*) ; zar "to flow, drip" (ibid.) ; sùr "stream, canal", "dépression, cours d'eau, oued, large canal" (Labat) ; sur is glossed "to perform an action from which a liquid product results" in Thomsen after Civil

Bm 287 also posits a Nos form, but his Se forms do not mean "to flow" (see Bomhard 1984 : 222, n° 100)

d) Dr : *callu "to sprinkle water" (DEDR 2384, not for NDr)
Sum : zal "to flow" (PSD 51), "to sprinkle, spray" (AHw 1013)

e) IE : *wăr- "water, liquid, fluid, flood" ; *wor- "fluid, water" (Mann : 1494, 1577)
AA : Eg (Greek period) wɜw "water" (Erman & Grapow I : 249) : ECu *war- "river", *warāb- "draw water" (Sasse 1979 : 42)
A : ūru- "to flow", based on Tk, Mo, TM (Poppe 1960 : 129)
Dr : a) *or≠u- "to flow" (DEDR 1010, for Ta, Ma, Ko, Ka, Kod, Tu only) ; b) *ūṟ-"to spring, ooze" (DEDR 761), with one word meaning "flood, spate" in Go
Sum : úru, uru_5 "1. the Deluge as a cosmic event [...] ; 4. devastating flood" (CAD), "flood" (AHw, Labat)
The comp. between A and Dr seems to have been made already by Illič-Svityč (Dybo 1989b : 23). AA data from B-C.

The caveat under n° 31 "cut" may apply here as well.
See also n° 204 "water".

68* full plein voll полный
a) SC : **Sik "to fill" (Be 111, only on the basis of Sum and Bu, not in Starostin 1984)
Sum : sìg "to fill" (Be, but see the comments)
Comp. by Bengtson. The word sig_9 is given as something not unsimilar to "to fill" ("bourrer, tasser") by Jestin (1965 : 43), but this is because of his idiosyncratic etymology of patesi a Sumerian "prince"), now read ensi. The meaning of sìg "to beat", "to strike", contextually "to fell a tree", etc. (PSD 172 ; Behrens & Steible 1983 : 296 ; Lieberman 1977 : 460, and every other source). The meaning "to fill" is mentioned only once (in Krecher 1966 : 180, a contextual meaning). The meaning "to throw, to fling" is found in Castellino (1972 : 103), "to pull, to tug" in PSD (76), "to drive away" in AHw (28). Otherwise, there is sìg-sìg "to thrash". The conclusion seems to be that there is no sig_9 "to fill".

b) Dr : Ta kūṟu-koḷ "to stuff, cram" ; Te kūru "to stow into an insufficient space, cram, stuff, thrust" ; Ga kūrap "to stuff in" (DEDR 1923)
Sum : gùr = Akk *malû* "to be full" (Deimel, Labat)

69* give donner geben давать

a) Dr : *cī- "to give" (words in all sub-families of Dr, see DEDR 2598)

AA : ECu : Arbore siy, Dasenech šiye, Somali sī (all in Bender), Rendille síi / síca, Boni síi / síía "to give" (Heine AAL 6,2 (1978) : 95)

Sum : sì = Akk *nadānu* "to give"

ECu data in B-C. One also reads Middle Elamite si- "to consecrate, to bless" in McAlpin (1981 : 100, n° 33), but this is nowhere to be found in Hallock (1969) or Hinz & Koch (1987).

b) Dr : *cum- "to seize" in only these four languages : Kol sum- "to catch, seize, buy" ; Nk sum- "id., lay" ; Naiki of Chanda sum- "to buy", catch, hold" ; Pa cumm- "to seize, catch hold of"(DEDR 2679)

Sum : sum, sumu "to give" ; "Le sumérien sum n'avait que de très lointains rapports avec le don. Il signifiait "livrer", "remettre", "confier". On le rencontre fréquemment dans les textes administratifs, toujours à propos de la circulation matérielle des denrées et des biens, de leur déplacement dans l'espace" (Glassner 1985 : 34).

The parallel could seem utterly preposterous, where it not that there are well-known precedents for it. In IE, terms meaning "give" and "take" can go back to the same root, and there are languages where one and the same word may mean "give" or "take" (see details in : Benveniste 1969, vol. 1 : 81-85 ; Buck 1949 : 743, 750 ; Chantraine : 744). As for the connection between the meanings "seize" and "take", it is also well-attested in IE (see Buck again). The real problem is more that the Dr forms are attested only in few languages, and cannot safely be pushed back as far as Proto-Dravidian.

Note that Dr : *cum- was compared by Blažek with various Nos names for "five" : AA *šamu (Berber + ECh, CCh), U *śUmpV, ? South TM *sunǯa "five", *su/N/sai- "fifty", cf. Korean son "hand", su'in "fifty" (see Blažek's paper "Afoasiatic numerals with Nostratic cognates", Ann Arbor conference, 1988). Comp. with words for "five" and "fifty" in B-C.

See also "to distribute".

70* good bon gut хороший

Nos : **dE\w\oga "suitable, fit, good" (DA 1)

Sum : dùg, du$_{10}$, dùg-ga "good"

72* green vert grün зеленый

a) AA : Proto-Berber : *zigzaw "green" (Militarëv 1984)

Sum : sig$_7$ (= same word as "yellow", n° 224)

Comp. by Militarëv, who implies this might be a borrowing. See b) below.

b) SC : **ćVkʷ- (Be 125) "yellow," (but Starostin (1984) has different words for "yellow" and "green", "green" being EC *śĭnV, ST *sriaŋ (r-siaŋ), Y *son). Bengtson bases his reconstruction on NC *čćakkʷV "white, yellow" (N-S) ; Sum ; Bu şɪkərk "1. yellow, pale, sallow ; 2. brass, copper" (Lorimer) ; ST *čăk "red, gold", after Benedict 1972 and Starostin 1984 ; Ye *täk- "white" (Starostin 1982) ; ND : Tlingit s'uw "blue, green, greenstone", Ath *-cUxʷ/ *cUxʷ? "yellow"

Sum : sig$_7$ "yellow, green", also sc$_x$ (Landsberger 1969)

Comp. by Bengtson. The comp between Bu only and Sum had been made independently by Boisson.

73 guts boyaux Eingeweide внутренности

SC : **Perk?- "intestine" (Be 54), based on Ba (h)ertze / (h)erxe "intestine" ; NC *Hĕ-w/p̄/bčrḱ'ḱ'V "large intestine" (N-S) ; Sum ; Bu wərk "fat on the big intestine of animals ; a kind of sausage" ; ST *Pik "intestines" (Starostin 1984) ; Ye *pɪʔɪĺ "intestine" (Starostin 1982) ; ND *-wadʔ "stomach, belly ; vomit"

Sum : peš "heart, bowel, womb"

Comp. by Bengtson, who also gives Sum libiš, which may be a AA loanword. Bengtson also mentions other forms : IE *perkʷ- "body, life", U *perk- "intestine", Dr *perk- "intestine", Old Japanese *Para "belly", etc.

See also the words for "root / sinew / vein / gut / cord" below.

74* hair[47] cheveux Haar волос

Nos : ** ĉäɣUrV "hair" (DP) ; cf. **CUʕrV "long hair" (B-NE1 20, B-NE2)

Bu : -čhoˑqurʌŋ "hair cut in a fringe on forehead, forelock" (Lorimer)

Sum : suḫur "Haarschopf, Wipfel", "hair of the head ; crown, top of a tree, a plant" (CAD sub Akk *qimmatu*) . This may very well be a borrowing from an AA language (see data in M. Cohen n° 281, and in Dolgopolsky "Problems", including Agaw and Bilin šugur).

In B-DA 16 there is a comp. between Sum, Dr and AA only. SC for "hair" looks different (see Starostin 1984, n° 23).

See also "tuft of hair / matted".

75* hand main Hand рука

a) AA : Cu *kV[ĉ(ĉ)]- "hand", with V > mainly u, rarely i (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 306)
Sum : kišib "hand, fist"
See b) below.

b) SC : **kʷač'- "paw / claw" (Be 31, in note), on the basis of Ba hatz "finger, claw, paw", behatz "toe, thumb, claw, hoof" ; NC *kʷač'e "paw", *kʷašV "paw", *k'VšV "finger" (N-S) ; Bu qʌš "length from elbow to fingertips, cubit, half-yard" ; Ye *ki?s "foot" (Starostin 1982) ; ND : Ath *-kečˇ "claw"
Sum : Sum : kišib "hand, fist"
Comp. by Bengtson. See a) above.

c) Bu : šʌk "arm, forearm" (Lorimer)
Sum : su "hand"
Very vague similarity.

77* head tête Kopf голова

AA : Cu : *sVg "head" (Dolgopolsky 1973) ; cf. Proto-Rift (> all of SCu except Ma'a and Dahalo) *saga ; but see also SCu *saŋ "water pot" (Ehret n° 14 : 179), with precedents for a similar semantic shift in French tête < testa ("shell" > "potsherd, pot" >"head") and in German Kopf ("drinking-cup" > "skull" > "head")
SC : NC : WC *sqʃa ; Y *clGV (Starostin 1984) ; Be 10 has SC **SVG- "head", adding Sum, Bu -sk-, -šk- -šk- "face, head", ST : Tibetan -sko, Dimasa -sga "chin", ND (various forms meaning "head", "neck") [SC and Ye connected by Shevoroshkin]
Sum : sag̃ (i.e. probably /saŋ/)
Comp. between Cu sVg and Sum by Militarëv 1984, who implies it is a borrowing. Comp. between SC and Sum independently by Boisson and Bengtson. Bengtson also refers to "Amerind" sako "head" (Greenberg 1987).

79* heart cœur Herz сердце

K : *šowa "centre, in the centre"
AA : CCu : Damot, Awngi šäwi, Kunfäl šew "heart" ; Eg s3w "stomach"
U : Fenno-Volgian *sawta /*šawta "lungs, gills" (UEW : 754)
Sum : ša, šag$_4$ "heart, belly, guts, inside, middle".

Comp. between K, AA and U in Blažek's "Kartvelian material". Sum words added by Boisson. The words may seem to have widely divergent referents, but for instances of shifting in the names of inner organs, see for instance Matisoff 1978.

80 heavy lourd schwer тяжелый

Nos : **k'ʷur- "to be heavy, weighty, solid, bulky" (Bm 262)
SC : ST *gur "weight" (Pejros "Avstro-tajskaja gipoteza" n° 25)
Sum : kur$_4$ "thick, big, heavy, strong, powerful", and gur$_4$ (normal word : dugud)
Comp. between Nos and Sum in Bm 262.

89* I je ich я

a) Nos : **mi "first person singular personal pronoun, I" (O 299, and see Dolgopolsky "Pronouns")
SC : a) **mV- (Be 140) based on NEC *mV "I" (Starostin 1984) ; Sum (Emesal) ; Bu mi, mi- "we, us, our", mi (occasional) "my" ; ST : Burmic *mi "self" (after Blažek, p. c.) ; Ye *b- / *?ab- "me" (Starostin 1982) ; b) **ŋV (S, 1 in second list)
Sum : a) me- (Emesal dialect) ; b) g̃á- (Emegir = the main dialect)
See Boisson "Pronominal system" for a discussion on Nos, SC, Sum. Comp. between SC **mV- in Bengtson. See also Ruhlen (1989a "Nostratic-Amerind cognates" : n° 1) and Shevoroshkin (1989 : 7) for isolated "Amerind" parallels.

b) SC : **nV- "I" (Be 138), based on Ba ni, ni- / ne- "I, me" ; NC *nɨ "I" (N-S) ; Sum ; ST : *ŋā "I" ; ND *na- / *nu- "we"
Sum ní "self"
Comp. by Bengtson, the Sumerian "self" being suggested by Blažek in a p. c. But see below the entry on the "reflexive morpheme".

94* knee genou Knie колено

AA : Ch : WCh : N Bauchi : Warji ḍəgʷ-, Kariya ḍəgo, Siri ḍuhu "to kneel" (Skinner 1977 : 28) ; CCh : Bačama ḍùgɛy, Mwulyen ḍúǵàgi "knee" (Kraft), Bata Garwa dōgĕ "knee" (Strümpell)
? Dr : *ʈoṅk- / *ʈoṅkr- "knee" (DEDR 2983), only in Kol, Nk, Go
SC : TB : *du "knee, elbow" (Benedict 21, cf. 16 Lepcha tuk-păt "knee", but see Starostin 1984, n° 31 ST *pŭt, Y *bat "knee") ; Bu -dUmUs / -dUmUc (Nagir), -duumus "knee, hock"
Sum : dùg, du$_{10}$ "knee"
Comp. by Boisson. Bengtson independently between SC and Sum, adding Bu. AA, Dr data in B-C.

100 leg jambe Bein нога
AA : *(n)gi/ur "knee"
Sum : g̃ìr (= "leg/foot")
Comp. in Militarëv 1984, who implies it may be a borrowing.

101* lie[48] ê. étendu liegen лежать
a) Nos : **LVga (O 271)
Sum : lu

b) A : *nā "to lie" (Starostin 1986 n° 38), only on the basis of TM *nē "to lay, put, place", OK nū-p, Pre-Japanese *ná- "to lie"
SC : NC : Hurrian naṯi "lit d'apparat", possibly a loanword from Sumerian plus a suffix, according to Laroche 1979 : 179-180) ; TB *na "to dwell, rest" (Benedict 1972 : 99, entry n° 414)
Sum : nád "to lie ; bed" ; ná "to lie" noted with a sign which should perhaps be read nú (Thomsen : 311)
TB from Blažek (p. c.).

106* man[49] homme Mann мужчина
a) Nos : **wiHrV " male" (M 362 = DV 37)
SC : **h_2ʁr- / **$h_2$ür- "man" (Be 131), on the basis of Ba arr- / ar- "male" ; NC : *Hir-k'^{w}V "man" (N-S) with also Hurrian ewri-, Hatti wur "man" ; Bu : hir, plural huri "Mann", Sum
Sum : ur "Mann" (Krecher 1988)
Comp. between Bu and Sum by de Grolier. Comp between Nos and Sum by Boisson. Comp. between SC generally and Sum by Bengtson, who is also aware of Nos parallels. Blažek also mentions (B-C) Nos **'crä "male" (O 108 **Herä, and see Blažek in ArOr 1989 : 205).

b) Nos : **NajRV "man, male" (O 331) = **nlȟayRV (DV 162) = **nlȟay{a}ri "man, male animal" (DA 5)
Uratean nara "people" (p. 90 in I. M. Diakonoff (1963))
Sum : nir "prince", nir-g̃ál "prince, sovereign, nobleman ; hero" ("hero" in Jestin 1943-1954)
The semantic development from "man" to "chief" or "hero" is attested in IE : Skt, Umbrian, Old Breton, Welsh (Buck 1949, I-S's *Opyt*). Urartean in B-C.

See also below n° 125 "person".

108* meat / flesh viande Fleisch мясо
a) Nos : **Homsa "meat" (O 114)

SC : **jVmcV "ox ; meat" (S 33, cf. Starostin 1984, n° 3.10)
Dr : *(c)ū(v)- "flesh" (DEDR 728)
AA : * ĉawy/' - "meat, cattle" : (Se ?, Eg, N&ECu, NOm, Ch)
Sum : su, uzu "flesh"
Militarëv (1984) compares Sum with various AA words, implying it is a borrowing. Data from Dr, AA in B-DA 2 ; Nos, SC comp. by Boisson. Blažek also gives Middle Elamite šuhi "animals" after McAlpin, but this is not in Hallock (1969), and Hinz & Koch (1987) gloss it "Bedeutung unbekannt". Shevoroshkin (1989 : 12) hypothesizes Nos **Ho-mśa < **?o-mVCa ?, which he compares with Squamish (Salishan) s-mic "meat" (on this and the possibility of a prefix in **Homśa, see Ruhlen "Nostratic-Amerind cognates", item n° 21, and Shevoroshkin's note on p. 76).

b) SC : **CʁnH- "body, flesh" (Bc 43 ; nothing similar in Starostin 1984), on the basis of Ba soin / soiñ / sün "upper body, bust", soinez "bodily" ; NC *čĭnHV "gale, animal" (N-S) ; Sum ; Bu -šʌŋ "limbs, all the parts of the body" ; ST : Karen śan "flesh, meat, deer", Burmese sa, asa "flesh", Old Chinese śjĕn "body", etc. ; ND : Eyak -ce?, Ath *-cən?. Cf. also NC : Hurrian uzi "flesh" (Laroche 1979 : 291)
Sum : su, uzu "flesh"
Comp. by Bengtson. Hurrian data added by Boisson.

109* moon lune Mond луна
Nos : ** ŝah{a}ra "moon, moonlight > bright, pale (as moon)" (DP) = **ʒAhrV (Dolg. "Affricates")
SC : **ʒwArHV "star" (S 211), and see below
Sum : a) u_4-sakar, reading of UD-SAR "new moon", "new crescent" (PSD 65, 111), "new moon" (Civil 1966), "crescent" (Lambert 1974 : 296, who nevertheless points out that this translation is problematical in the passage), metaphorically "pointed dagger" (PSD 161), "new moon" (CAD sub Akk *arḫu*), "Mond, Monat" (AHw 1466), "Mond, Mondsichel" (AHw 1438). This Sum compound corresponds to Akk *askaru* / *uskaru* "moon crescent" (these Akk words being loans from Sum according to Civil (1966), who says that sakar has a less frequent variant saḫar) and to *nannāru* "moon" ; b) u_4-šakar "Neumond" (AHw 1466) ; c) u_4-sar gibil "new moon" (Thomsen 109, Falkenstein 1949-1950 : 67), and in é-(u_4-)sar-ra "Haus des Neumonds ?" (Krecher 1966 : 200) ; d) u_4-šar gibil "new moon" (Sjöberg 1960 : 73)

Comp. by Boisson for the Sum words under a) and b). Bengtson has SC : **CʷarH- "star" (Be 73) on the basis of Ba, NC, Sum, Bu, ST. He quotes Sum ud-sar, u-sar "new moon". As far as I can see, none of the meanings for sar corresponds to "moon" or "star", or "celestial body", although there is a sar(-ra) "aufleuchten" ("to flash, light up"). But it would be somewhat paradoxical to use such a word for the new moon, which is the phase when the moon shows its dark face to the earth, although it is true that some of the Sum passages with the words for "new moon" would seem to refer to the appearance of the thin "sickle". The ud could be the word for "day, time". The sar could also be the word for "to begin" ?

110 mother mère Muter мать

Nos : **?am(m)- / **?m(m)- (Bm 361)
Sum : ama, ama-sim, um, umu

111* mountain montagne Berg гора

Dr : a) *kuɾ- "hill country ? people living in the mountains" (DEDR 1844, not in NDr) ; ? b) *kuɾ- "island" (DEDR 1860 for Ta, Ka, Go)
AA : *kur "hill country" (Se, NCu, ECu, CCh) ; there are additional AA data in B-C (Se, Beja, CCu, ECu, CCh)
IE : *gʷer- "mountain"
U : *kurV "forest" and/or *korkV "highland" ; there is also Permic *kurV "Hügel, Anhöhe, Landrücken" (Lytkin, Guljaev 1970 : 153 ; UEW 677)
Sum : kur, gur "moutain, highland, land" ; Sum kur means also "foreign country" (as opposed to Sumer)
Whole entry from B-DA 89, with additional AA and Permic data in B-C. Militarëv compared only AA and Sum, suggesting that the latter was borrowed from the former.

112* mouth bouche Mund рот

AA : Ch : 1) *ku "mouth" (Blažek, p.c.) ; 2) CCh : Kotoko *gay- "mouth" > Affade ga, Sao, gaï, ga, Makeri ga, Klesem kē, Gulfei ga, gā, Buduma gai, gei "Mund" (Sölken 1967 : 253-254) ; Glavda γàyà, Gava γàyà, Nahatsa γaya "mouth" (Kraft) ; ? Berber K'sur aggaï, Mzab adjaï "joue" (Basset)
SC : **xqa- (Be 20 ; but cf. Starostin 1984 n° 36 : EC *k'wə̀ɬ ?V, ST *Khō(w)H, Y *h5owe) ; Bu : kau "in der Mund sticken" ; -xʌ-t "mouth"
Sum : ka "mouth, opening"

Comp. between Bu and Sum by de Grolier and by Bengtson, between SC and Sum by Bengston. CCh and Berber data in B-C. But the correct Sum form turns out to be kag, not simply ka (Behrens & Steible 1983 : 178 ; Farber-Flügge 1973 : 84-85 ; Lieberman 1977 : 336 ; Steible 1982 : 162). So the comparisons are much less striking. If we maintain the SC / Sum comp, either the -g is to be interpreted as a Sumerian innovation (some suffix ?), or as a retention of Sumerian, which would then be a very conservative SC language, the final stop having been lost in all other phyla of the super-phylum.

113* name nom Name имя

Nos : **nimi "name", based on IE and U only (O 317)
Middle Elamite : na- "to say" (Hallock 1969 ; Hinz & Koch 1987 ; McAlpin 1981 : 96, n° 10)
AA : Berber *ini "to say" ; Ch : *nV "govorit'" (Stolbova 1987 : 235, n° 813), Ron ne, ni, nii (Bynon 1984 : 281)
Dr : *en- "to say" (DEDR 868 ; Steever 1984 : 644, note 39)
Sum : inim, enem "word", "word, matter, (specific) thing" (Gordon 1959), "Wort, Befehl" (Deimel) "parole, convention, volonté, prière" (Jestin 1943-1954), "to mutter, to babble" (Foxvog & Kilmer 1975).
Remarks. 1) Could Sum inim, enem be decomposed ? ; 2) IE may be *(H)noH-mn̥. Benveniste (1935 : 181) even suggests the division *Hɪén-m-en or *Hɪon-m-en. Note also the existence of Sum e "to say". Note that Sum "name" is mu, *not* inim, but the semantic shifts between the meanings "word" and "name" are attested, for instance in IE the family : Middle HG wort = "word, name", Latin verbum "word", Lithuanian vařdas "name", Latvian vārds "word, name". B-C points out that Nos **jAnV "to say, talk" (O 146) might account for Dr and Berber. He also mentions ST : (East Himalaya) Kulung nēna, Nachereng nī na "parla" (imper.) according to Trombetti (Elementi).

115 near près de nah близко

Nos : **daK'a "nearby" (O 61)
Sum : da "sich nähern ; Nähe ; Nachbar" (AHw, Borger). But note that da is also "side ; boundary ; corner", so that the meaning of proximity may be derived.

116* neck cou Hals шея

? Nos : **kuɬV "neck" (new hypothesis in B-C) based on :
Dr : *kuttik- "throat, neck" (DEDR 1718, not in NDr)

[?? AA : *ḳ(u)ṭi "neck, throat" (ECu, SCu, Om) (B-DA), but more probably *kurčˌi (B-C)]
FU : *kuttV- "neck"
IE : *gʷetru- "neck, collarbone" (Mann)
Sum : gú "neck" (Sum g is probably /k/).
Apart from the fact that Sum has no final consonant, this might very well be a spurious analogy (cf. French cou /ku/ "neck" !), or independent formations for "throat" with a "guttural" stop. Comp. with Sum by Boisson, the rest of the entry from B-DA 27, B-C. B-C also mentions ECu forms such as Dullay ge'e' (Bender), gee' "neck" (Sasse and others).

121* not ne pas nicht не
Nos : **ni "no (nullus), in no way" (DV 28) = **na/ne, **nin/ne, **nu/no (Bm 451)
Sum : nu "negation"
See SGE.

122 old[50] vieux alt старый
Nos : **s'VnV / **šVnV "year, old" (M 337) = **ʒUnE (Dolg. "Affricates" 167) ; B-C says that to Nos should be added *cēn "old man" (DEDR 2808, but only for Go, Kui), maybe FU *soŋkV "alt werden" (UEW 448), probably unconnected with Manchu sengge "old", which belongs to TM *sagdV "old". There are also other cognates in Eg, Ch.
SC : **swEnV "year, old" (S 208). Be 128 gives SC **šiln- / **šVn- "old ; year" on the basis of Ba senton "old man", sentana "old woman", santan "ever, never" (after Blažek, p. c.), NC, Sum, ST, Ye, Bu šini "summer", ND *x̌an "(be) old"
Sum : sumun, sun "old"
Comp. between Nos, SC, Sum by Boisson, and, independently, by Bengtson, who adds Amerind **sVn- "old" after Greenberg (1987), and Madang sonim "old". Additional Nos data from B-C.

123* one un eins один
Nos : AA : *'aši(nV / tV) "one" ; K *ŝxwa "other" > Svan ešxu "one" ; ? Dr : Brahui asi "one"
SC : **HVcV "one" (in Pejros 1989 : 129, n° 103 ; see Starostin 1984, n° 42, with NC *həcə / *cəhə, ST *?it, Y *(ḫu-)sa)
Sum : aš "one"
Nos data in B-C. Very vague similarity between Sum and SC, considerably better with the Nos forms, particularly AA.

125 person[51] personne Person человек
a) SC : **na (Be 129 gives **nV), on the basis of Sum, ST : TB *na "to live, to rest, and ST *nə̄m "human being" (Starostin 1984), ND *na "person, people, house"
Sum : na "person"
Comp. by Bengtson.

b) SC : **CE(w)- "person" (Be 130), based on NC *ć^{w}ĭjo "man" (N-S) ; Sum ; Bu sis "person, man, people, folk" ; Ye *ʒɛʔ-ŋ "people" (Starostin 1982)
Sum : za "human being, man, person" (CAD sub Akk amīlu, AHw 90)
Comp. by Bengtson.

See also above n° 106 "man"

128 push pousser stossen[52] толкать
Nos : **t'Vlk'V (M 369)
Sum : du$_7$, du$_7$-du$_7$ "to butt, to gore" (Thomsen)
Very vague similarity.

133 river rivière Fluss река
AA : *wayd / *wady "river-bed", based on forms in Se and Guanche *wada *sea (B-C)
U : *waδ'kV "kleiner Fluss" (UEW 550)
? Dr : *vaṭ- "to drip, to flow" (DEDR 5221)
IE : Avestan adhu "river, canal" ; see Delamarre (1984 : 177), from IE *adul(y)ā, with reflexes in various river names
Sum : íd, i$_7$
Comp. between AA and Sum in Militarëv 1984, who implies it might be a borrowing. B-C adds details on AA, U and Dr data, (with references to Trombetti Less. 394-395, Elementi 378). B-C considers that the best parallel for Sum íd is Eg i'3d.t "Bezeichnis für Wasser" (Erman & Grapow I : 36).

139 rub frotter reiben теребть
Nos : **mer'V "fat, to apply ointment" (O 296) = **mar- / **mer- "to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, fat, ointment, etc.)" (Bm 433) ; cf. Ch *mar "oil" (Newman)
SC : ST : *mar "fat" (S 123)
Sum : mar "einreiben" (Borger n° 307) ; = Akkadian *eqû* "to daub (eyes) with medicine, with cosmetics, to apply salve to other parts of the body (...) ; differentiated from *pašāšu* "to smear", *eqû* is a term for application of salves, mostly to the eyes" (CAD sub Akk *eqû*)

Comp. between Nos and ST by Starostin.

See also n° 50 "fat".

141* sand sable Sand песок

AA : AA : see Eg sr "sable, terrain sableux" in M. Cohen n° 105, and a number of AA forms in sVr-, perhaps going back to *siny- : S Bauchi : Buli šynyes ; Ron : Daffo šiŋgyìl ; CCh : Logone sēen ; ECh : Sokoro sínyé, Jegu šeń, Mubi sínɔ́k "sand" ; SCu : Burunge seḥenay, Alagwa schenay "sand"

A : *sär'V "earth, sand, etc." > Tk sar' (Räsänen 1969 : 406) ; Mo siraγV "earth" ; TM *sirV- "sand" ; M Korean hä`rk "earth" is compared (Räsänen 1955 : 32) with Finnish särkkä "Sandrücken"

ST : *srāj, EC *sore ; Bu : sa.o (all from Pejros ; Pejros "Avstrotajskaja gipoteza" gives TB *(r-)zāj(H), srāj being the Old Chinese form ; Pejros 1989 gives EC *sVrV)

Sum : saḫar "earth, sand".

A data in B-C. As pointed out by B-C, Arabic ṣaḥrā' "desert" does not belong here, being derived from ṣḥr "red".

142* say dire sagen сказать

a) Nos : **tc/h/V (M 365)

Sum : a) di "to say, speak, tell, order" (Thomsen) ; b) te "deutlich machen, klären"

b) Dr : *en- "to say" (DEDR 868 ; Steever 1984 : 644, note 39)

AA : Berber *ini "to say" ; Ch : *nV "govorit'" (Stolbova 1987 : 235, n° 813), Ron ne, ni, nii (Bynon 1984 : 281)

Elamite : na- "to say"

Sum : inim, enem "word", "word, matter, (specific) thing" (Gordon 1959), "Wort, Befehl" (Deimel) "parole, convention, volonté, prière" (Jestin 1943-1954), "to mutter, to babble" (Foxvog & Kilmer 1975).

See also n° 166 "speak", and n° 113 "name".

143 scratch[53] gratter kratzen царапать

Nos : **ñar- / **ñer- "to sratch, to scrape ; to plough" (Bm 324)

Nos : **wurɣ- / **worɣ- "to scratch, to incise, to dig up, to plow" (Bm 402)

Sum : ḫur "to scratch, to grind" (Thomsen) ; cf. uru$_4$ "to plough"

Boisson had compared Sum and Dr ur≠u for "to plough" (see below), but Bomhard tries to extend the comp. to IE. Cf. IE *wors- "trail, furrow, ditch" (Mann : 1580).

152 sing chanter singen петь

AA : *sir / *sur "sing" (Militarëv 1984, on the basis of Ch only, because Cu is debatable, as Blažek points out to me ; see also Cu data in M. Cohen n° 300)

Sum : šìr, sìr "chanter, se lamenter", "chanter, cantique" (Jestin 1943-1954), sur

Comp. by Militarëv, who implies it might be a borrowing.

156* skin[54] peau Haut кожа

a) Nos : **/p/erV (M 344)

Sum : bar "outside, side, back, edge, exterior, outer covering, outer form, body, skin, fleece" (PSD)

See also the word for "side" below.

b) A : OT qoyuš, quyuš ? "leather, hide" (von Gabain)

AA : AA : WC *qwaĉa "skin, bark" (Stolbova 1987 : 220, n° 698) ; CCh : Chibale kwutsî, W Margi kwuxi "skin"

E *kustis "skin" (Mann)

Nilo-Saharan : Songhay : Gao kokosi ; Saharan : Kanuri kaskaši, Teda kuši, all "skin ; bark" ; C Sudanic : Lendu kosa "skin", Mvuba hozi "skin" (Greenberg 1970 : 134, n° 13)

EC : **q̄wičV "skin" (Starostin)

Sum : kuš "skin, hide"

The AA, IE and EC data are from Blažek (p.c.) and B-C.

158* sleep dormir schlafen спать

Nos : Nos : A *udy-, U *oδa- ; cf. OT uw, uu (von Gabain) (M 367) ; cf. also FU *uδз-mз "Schlafzeit" (UEW 541) ; AA : CCh : Kotoko : Kuseri udai, uadai "schlafen" (Lukas) ; Tk ū has possible cognates in : IE *au- "übernachten, schlafen" (Pokorny 72) ; FU *üje "Nacht" (UEW 72) ; Yukaghir N ăw- "to sleep" (Krejnovič)

Sum : ù, ù-ku-ku, ù-ná, u-tuɡ-tuɡ

Very vague similarity at best. FU, CCh, IE, Yukaghir data in B-C.

159* small petit klein маленький

a) Nos : **torV "young" (B-NE1 10, B-NE2)

Bu : ṭhu`r " a little" (Lorimer)

Sum : tur, tura "small, young", "wenig" (the variant tura in Borger : 212)

Comp. between Nos and Sum in B-NE1.

b) AA : 1) Se ḳll "to be light in weight" (Gesenius, Buhl 1921 : 714) ; ECu *ḳall- / ḳ a!'- "thi, insignificant" (Sasse 1974 : 22, 48) ; ? NOm : Kafa ḳall- "to be weak" (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 196) ; 2) *gin- "small" : CCu Bilin gənnay "small" (Bender) ; WCh : Angas gyĩn "small, little" (Foulkes) ; CCh : Buduma gẹ́ná, ŋẹ́ná "small, little" (Lukas)
? IE : Tokharian B kaly "petit, fin"
Dr : *kil- / *kin- "small ; young ; few" (Zvelebil 1970 : 66), or *kīɻ- / *kīɻ-V- according to Subrahmanyam (1975 : 12). See DEDR 1571, 1594.
Sum : gina, ginan, genna, ginna, gen "small" (Deimel, Borger)
Dr form is uncertain. AA, IE data in B-C. The similarity between Sum and AA *gin- is so remarkable that one might suspect a borrowing.

c) AA : CCu *cəgʷ- "small" (Appleyard), but Xamir çikʷ- "be small" (Reinisch) ; ECu : Konso šəka "few, small" ; SCu : Burunge čoko "small" (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 119)
Dr : *cikka in SDr only : Ta cikka "in brief, in a nutshell" ; Ma cikkiṇi "young, small (said of girls" ; Ka cikka, ciga "little, small, young" ; Tu cikka "little, young, small, short" ; Te cikiciki "small, little" (DEDR 2495) ; cf. *cikka "small", n° 4781 in Turner 1966.
Sum : sig "small, humble, low ; weak ; thin, narrow, tapered"
AA data in B-C.

See also n° 187 "thin".

163 snake serpent Schlange змея
a) Dr : *māc-, a base for "python" in Ta, Pa, Go (DEDR 4793)
AA : *mVs- "snake" (ECu, ECh) ; Ch *məɗ'ə "python" (Newman), cf. WCh *murɗ'a-kʷV (Stolbova 1987 : 234, n° 810) ; WCh : Hausa mēsā "python" ; Gera mùsi ; WCh *murɗ'a-kʷV (Stolbova 1987 : 234, n° 810) can be compared with CCu forms : Bilin merā́wā, Qwara mārâwā, Dembea merwā "snake" (Reinisch) ; ECu *(HV)maš- "snake" (Sasse AnÜ 59 : 127)
AA : *mVk/g "snake" : ECu : Konso māga, Gidole, Bussa māka "snake" (Bender) ; NOm : She māg "sp. di serpente", mogād "serpe" (Conti Rossini) ; CCh : Logone máɣi "Schlange" (Lukas), Muffu mĕgĕ́ "chameleon", Wandale mŏkŏkŏ "snake" (Strümpell), Muzgu wą́la mogo "serpent" (Mouchet)
A : *mūk'V "snake" (Starostin 1986 n° 25a)

U : *mučka "Krümmung, Biegung (eines Flusses)" (hypothetically given in Rédei UEW 282-283)
Bu : mʌš ɛtʌs, maˑs ɛtʌs "bend" (ɛtʌs = "do, make") (Lorimer)
Sum : muš "snake" (Dr, AA, Sum in B-DA 63 ; note that Sum has the compounds á-mùš "Ellenbogen" (á = "arm") and si-mùš "Hornkrümmung", which suggest the existence of a verb mùš = "bend".
Note that there are words in mVK and words in MVS. B-C points out that Trombetti (Elementi) had already compared Sum, Somali and Hausa). Cu data under AA *mVs in B-C, as well as data under AA *mVk/g.

b) IE *natri- "grass snake, adder" (Mann)
Dr : Kur nerr "snake", Malto neru "snake" (the only two languages in DEDR 3752)
Sum : nirah̰ "adder, viper" (Heimpel 1968 : 504)
IE data from B-C, who points out that NDr *-rr- could reflect an earlier cluster *-Cr-.

See also n° 221 "worm".

166 speak parler sprechen говорить
AA : *t'Vq'ʰʷ "to speak", based on Cu, Om, Ch, Berber, Se (SISAJ, vol. 2 : 43-44, n° 86)
Sum : dug$_4$ "to say, to speak, to tell, to order" (Thomsen)
A loanword ?

See also n° 142 "say", and n° 113 "name".

169 split fendre spalten расщеплять
a) Nos : **p'ăf/a/ "tear, break, split" (onomatop.) (O 339)
Sum : bar

b) Nos : **t'ar- / **t'er- "to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever" (Bm 100)
Sum : dar

c) Dr : Ta cilu "to open, split" ; Ko "cilv- "to break along the length of the grain" (DEDR 2566 only for these two languages)
Sum : sil "to split, cut, sever, tear apart"

See also the words for "cut" (n° 31) ; the same caveat applies to this entry.

175* stone pierre Stein камень

AA : Se : Akk šaššu "weisser Marmor", late Hebrew šēš "Marmor" ; Eg šs "Alabaster" (Pyramid texts) (Erman & Grapow IV : 540) ; ? NOm Shaho še'i, Mocha šūṭo, Shinasha šüça, Janjero šū'(w)a, etc. "stone" (Bender)
SC : **cV "stone" (Be 80, on the basis of Ba, Sum, Ye, ND, but not in Starostin 1984)
Sum : zá
Comp. by Bengtson. AA data in B-C. "Stone" is now na_4, as far as I know. In any case Labat (preface, p. XIII) states that what used to be read as zá is now read na_4, and this is corroborated by Behrens & Steible (1989 : 241), while Borger still gives na_4, ia_4, and zá for "stone". But in fact the word zá is "gem" (Lieberman 1977 : 522), or even "turquoise, lapis-lazuli".

176 straight droit gerade прямой
Dr : *nēr- "straight, to straighten ; proper, just ; true", in Ta, Ma, To, Ka, Kod, Tu, Pe (DEDR 3772)
Sum : nir "right, suitable, adequate" (AHw) ; cf. also the sign NIR, no known reading = Akk *tarāṣu* "to set straight" (so that the hypothetical reading nir would seem to be called for) ; nir-ra "gerichtet (Gesichtszüge)" (AHw) ; cf. also (?) nir "confidence, trust"

181* tail queue Schwanz хвост
Nos : **k'udi "tail" (O 203)
? AA : *ḳayn- : Se : Akk qinnatu "Hinterbacke", Arabic qayna(t) "Hintertail", Tigre qen "unteres oder interes Teil" (Christian WKZM 1959 : 168-170 ; ECu : Oromo qīnṭī "spine" (Gragg) ; WCh *ḳana-k "back" (Stolbova 1987) ; CCh : Gava kwinda, Bokwa kunja, etc. "Nacken" (Büchner)
U : FU *konV "rücklings ; auf dem Rücken" (UEW 179)
Dr : *kuṇṭ- "buttocks" (DEDR 1693A, for Ta, Ma, Ka, Te, Ga, Kuwi)
Sum : kun "tail"
But a much better parallel might be with Dr *kunn- "penis" (DEDR 1697) and AA *gʷan "penis" (? ECu, WCh, CCh), given in B-DA 32. Data under AA *ḳayn- and FU, Dr in B-C.

See also under "buttock".

183* that cela das тот
See under n° 189 "this".

187 thin mince dünn тонкий

A : OT sïq "narrow" (von Gabain) ; cf. also Mo *sige "little finger" (Dybo 1989a : 201)
Dr : *cikka "small, short, young" (DEDR 2495, not in NDr) ; but cf. Indian cikka- "small"
Sum : sig "small, humble, low ; weak ; thin, narrow, tapered" ; the meanings "narrow, tapered" are given in Labat, in Castellino (1972 : 228), and in Falkenstein's grammar, where we read : tur mah sig dagal = "klein - gross, eng - weit" (vol. 1 : 41, note 7)

See also n° 159 "small".

189* this ceci dies(es) этот
a) Nos : **?i / (?) **?e "demonstrative pronouns (indicating nearby object "this")" (O 134)
SC : **?i (S 6 in second list)
Sum : There are a few instances of a particle -e which have been interpreted as a demonstrative suffix
See details in SGE.

b) Nos : **šä, a demonstrative pronoun for animates (Illič-Svityč 1971, vol. 1 : 6)
SC : **šV (S)
Sum : še, a problematic demonstrative
See details in SGE.

c) Nos : **NA "demonstrative pronoun" (O 332)
NC : *nV "this, that" (S)
Sum : ne , nen, a demonstrative pronoun / determiner, "-ne "dieser", Akk *annû* " (Poebel 1923 : 82) ; "das 'nahdeiktische' Demonstrativpronomen" (Falkenstein)
See details in SGE.

190* thou tu du ты
Nos : **t'i / **Si (see Dolgopolsky "Pronouns") = **$t^{[h]}$i- / **$t^{[h]}$e- (Bm 91)
SC : **Su- (Be 144), based only on Ba zu, zu- "you (plural)", NC *ź^{w}V "you (plural)", Sum.
Sum : za-, zé- (Emegir), ze- (Emesal)
See Boisson "Pronominal system" for a discussion (z can be /ts/ : see Boisson "Contraintes"). Independent comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson.

193 tie lier binden связывать

a) Nos : **k'adV "to weave, to plait (with twigs)" (O 192)
SC : **q̓VmdV "fence, wall" (S)
Sum : kàd, kád "to tie, to bind together, to join, construct buildings, etc. [...]" (CAD sub Akk *kaṣāru* for kàd, kád)
Comp. between Nos and Sum suggested by Détrois, Shevoroshkin.

b) Nos : **bandV (M 364) ; A *bā-, K *b- (M 364)
Sum : bar
Very poor.

194* tongue langue Zunge язык

SC : **meli (Be 1; cf. Starostin 1984, n° 61, which compares NC and ST). Bengtson bases this on Ba mihi "tongue", mintzo "speech, language", mili "to lick" ; NC *mēlççi "tongue" (Starostin 1984) ; Sum ; Bu -melč "jaw, jawbone", and I would add -umUs "tongue" ; ST *mlaj "tongue" ; ND : ? Ath : Hare ewari "tongue"
Sum : eme, me
Comp. by Bengtson. Independent comp. between Bu -umUs and Sum by Boisson. The Sum word is extremely short. B-C suggests a comp. with : Berber *a-m(V)y- "mouth" > Awjila am, Shilha imi, etc., and with Ch : WCh : Ngizim miya ; CCh : Hine, Daba ma, Muzgu ma, mi, etc., but there is a semantic problem.

195* tooth dent Zahn зуб

a) SC : **cə̆lH "tooth" (Be 19, not in Starostin 1984), on the basis of NC *cə̆lñw "tooth" (N-S), Sum, ST : Tibetan m-c^{h}ul "mouth", after Shafer.
Sum : zú "tooth"
Comp. by Bengtson.

b) Nos : **goPK'a "tooth (sp.), hook, sharp stick" (DA 19) ; cf. Om *gug, *gawg (Blažek, p. c.) : NOm : Gatsame gaggo, Koyra gāgo, Gidiccho gāggo "tooth" (Bender)
Sum : gug (but only in Heimpel (1968) , the normal word being zú, quoted above)
Om data from Blažek. A loanword from an Om-like language ?

196* tree arbre Baum дерево

Nos : **ǯirV (? older **dirV, **duri) "tree, forest, wood, stem" (B-NE1 3, B-NE2)
In Nos there is AA *tar- / *tir- : ECu : Somali tiir "stem" ; WCh : Angas tar "tree, high grass" (SISAJ II : 23, n° 45)

? FU *tə̆rkkV "irgendeine Kiefer" (UEW 540) ; note that AA t- and IE d- (in *derw-) are regular reflexes from Nostratic according to Illič-Svityč
SC : **ṮVr- "tree" (Be 102), on the basis of NC * ṯ̆aro "(coniferous) tree" (N-S), Sum, Bu ṭooro "(big) log" ; cf. Shina ṭooro "big log, stump" < Bu substratum
Sum : tir "forest"
Comp. between Nos and Sum made in B-NE1 3. Comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson, who mentions the Nos parallels. AA data in B-C.

See also "woods" (n° 219), and "firewood / piece of wood".

199* two deux zwei два

Dr : Ta miñci "ring worn on the second toe or ring-finger" ; Ka miñcu "ring worn by married women on the second toe" ; Te mincu "a kind of ring worn my men on the second toe" (DEDR 4844)
AA : B-C points out that there are vaguely similar CCu forms : Qwara mänta ; cf. Geez, Tigray, Amhara mantā ; ECu : Proto-Sam [?] *mantān "twin" (Reinisch ; Heine 1978 : 90)
Sum : min, man "two" (see Diakonoff 1983 for Sum numeration)
Extremely conjectural, because the Dr words are totally obscure to me. Cu forms in B-C.

201* walk marcher gehen ходить

Nos : **duri "to go, walk, ? enter" (DA 11)
Sum : du, di, riɡ "walk"

202* warm[55] chaud warm теплый

a) Nos : **t'äpV "warm, heat" (M 338) = **t'EpV "to warm" (D 75) = **t[h]ap[h]- / **t[h]ep[h]- "to burn, to be hot" (Bm 81)
ST : **tap "fire-place, stove" (S 186). Be 63 has SC **tap- "fire" on the basis of Sum and TB tap. But B-C also quotes Werchikwar tâp "Hitze" (Berger).
Sum : tab "burn, to have fever ; fever"
Comp. between Nos and Sum made independently by Boisson and Machonkin. Comp. between ST and Sum made by Boisson. Comp. between SC and Sum made by Bengtson, who is also aware of the Nos connection, and quotes an "Amerind" form tapi "to burn" after Greenberg 1987. On this, see also Sechelt (Salishan) t'ip "to roast" and Wintu (Penutian) t'ipe: "burn, emitting sparks", quoted in Shevoroshkin (1989 : 8-9). Bu form in B-C.

b) Nos **kum(V) / **küm(V) (?? Boisson), a hypothesis based on : 1) Dr *kum- "hot, burn", on the basis of Ta kumai "to be hot, sultry", Ka kome "to begin to burn, as fire or anger", Te kummu "smouldering ashes", Go kum "smoke" (DEDR n° 1752) ; 2) U forms ; Rédei (UEW 675-676) quotes the Proto-Finno-Volgaic etymon *küma "heiß, glühend ; Fieber" : Finnish kuuma "heiß, brennend, glühend, hitzig", kuume "Fieber" ; Estonian kuum "glühend, heiß ; Glut", kuuma "glühen ; schimmern, schwach leuchten" ; Mordvin (Erzä) kumoka "Fieber", kumuχa "Fieberkrankheit", -ka being here a derivational suffix ; 3) ? AA : WCh : Bolewa kuménnì "hotness" (Kraft) ; 4) ? K *ḳwam- / *ḳwm- "to smoke", *ḳwamʝ- "smoke" (Klimov 1964 : 108-109, with EC parallels). On the basis of U and Dr, must we then set up a Proto-Nostratic root **kum / **küm "hot, burning" ?

Sum : kúm "hot, heat ; fever"

Blažek drew my attention to the U forms, and B-C adds the AA and K forms. The comp. between U and Dr is not in Tyler 1968.

See also n° 56 "fire" and "brazier".

203 wash laver waschen мыть

a) IE : *leu(H)- "to wash" (Watkins)

U : Ob-Ugrian *lŏγ- "to wash" (after Honti)

NYukaghir : loγo- "to wash"

Sum : luḫ "to wash ; to cleanse", làḫ "to wash ; to cleanse".

Comp. between IE, U and Yukaghir in Blažek's "Kartvelian material", which also gives K *lVq- "to melt" and various AA forms with the meaning "wet, fresh", "mud", etc. ; add perhaps IE *lag- "wet, damp ; drip, run, flow" (Mann : 658).

b) Nos : **rEĉ'{V}χV or **rVχ{V}ĉ'V (M 349, D 89)

Sum : ra

204* water eau Wasser вода

IE : *Hab- / *Hāp- "stream ; water" (Delamarre 1984 : 177)

AA : B-C suggests the following words. AA : Beja aba "Fluss, bach" ; CCu : Bilin abā "gegrabener Brunnen" ; ECu : Oromo ába "Fluss" (Reinisch) ; Eg ḥbb.t "Bezeichnis d. Wasser" (Erman& Grapow III : 63)Sum : a "water ; drink" ; ab, aba "sea"

The semantic connexion between "water" and "sea" is uncommon, but well-attested, in Skt (Buck 1949 : 37), in the connection between Old English wōr "water, ooze" and wær "ocean", and in the case of AA *yam- "water" (Ch, Cu) > Se "sea" (Greenberg 1970 : 63, n° 75).

See also n° 60 "to flow"

205* we nous wir мы

Nos : **mä "first person plural inclusive personal pronouns" (O 289, and see Dolgopolsky's "Pronouns")

Bu : mi (Lorimer)

Sum : -me "our" ; see Boisson "Pronominal system" (the personal pronoun 1 pl. is unattested in Sumerian)

207* what? que? was? что?

a) Nos : **mi "what" (O 300)

SC : **ml "what" (S 4 in second list)

Sum : me interrogative morpheme

Starostin (1989) compares Nos **mi / **me "what" to SC **mV "what", based on Y *wV and NC *mV.

See SGE, after Bomhard. There are parallels elsewhere, including in America (Ruhlen 1989a, "Nostratic-Amerind cognates", n° 8).

b) SC : **nV- "interrogative" (Be 147), based on Ba nor / nur "who", noiz, nuiz "when" ; NC *nV "interrogative" (Starostin 1982, Starostin 1984, N-S), Sum, Bu (Werchikwar) ana "where, whither", anUm "whence" ; ST *nāi(ŋ) "interrogative" (Starostin 1982, Starostin 1984), Ye *?an "who" (Starostin 1982), ND ? (more doubtful data with d)

Sum : a.na "what ?", me-na-àm "when ?"

Comp. by Bengtson.

210* white blanc weiss белый

Nos : **bar- / **ber- "to shine, to be bright" (Bm 15), based on IE, AA, Dr. To the Se, Eg and Cu data in Bomhard (1984 : 200, n° 31), the following could perhaps be added (?) : Ch : *p-() "white". "This is one of those cases where the cognation of the various citations seems highly probable but the correct form of the PC reconstruction is difficult to ascertain : Angas pye, Hausa farii, Zaar fyali ; Margi pərtu, Logone pou ; Mubi feret" (Newman 1977 : 34). I wonder if Newman should not have gone a little further and reconstructed PCh *pVr- "white", all the more so since B-C mentions WCh : S Bauchi : Dwot bèrï, etc. "white" (Shimizu) ; CCh : Affade birde, Gulfai brdé, bę rdę (Sölken 1967 : 205) ; ECh : Dormo bere, Nancere bur, Gabri bére, Kaba berúa, Kira (Tuburi) bárua "white" (Lukas)

Nilo-Saharan : *bVr (Bender 1983 : 4) ; cf. E Sudanic : Nyima fɛfɛr "very white", Sila papara ; Maban : Maba fafara(k), Runga farr (Greenberg 1970 : 107, n° 125 ; 147, n° 150)
SC : **bVr- "white" (Be 123), on the basis of NC *pūrV, etc. "gray, brown", Sum, Bu, ST, Ye *pu?r "bright, cvlear (of weather". Boisson had mentioned : Bu : bur'i' "silver", buru'm "white" ; but compare Shina bu'ro "whiteish (of horse, etc.)" (Lorimer) ; ST : *(-)pwâr "white" (Benedict 1976)
Sum : bar "bright, to shine" ; babbar "white, shining". This could come from *bar-bar ; cf. Delitzsch 1914 ; Diakonoff 1987 : 52.
Comp. between Nos and Sum bar in Bm 15, and Ch, Nilo-Saharan, Bu and ST data from Boisson. Comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson independently. The NC data are semantically unsatisfactory. Bengtson mentions Nos **boŕa "gray-brown", Amerind **bore "yellow, green, blue" (after Greenberg 1987), and Austric data : Miao-Yao *mbrou "green, blue", Austronesian *bi/r/u "blue". Additional Ch data in B-C.

212 wide large breit широкий
Nos : **p'at'V (M 372)
Sum : peš

218* woman femme Frau женщина
a) Nos : **miń̈ä "woman, woman relative" (O 301)
ST : *nam "sister-in-law, daughter-in-law" (S 125)
Sum : munus, mí ."The reading of SAL = *sinnišu* "woman" can be either mí or munus" (Sjöberg & Bergman 1969 : 114). Diakonoff suggest munus could be from lú + nus ; in which case, nus would mean "woman" by itself ; Militarëv (1984) compares this hypothetical Sum *nus to AA *nV(?)sw "woman", implying it might be a borrowing.

b) Nos : **küni
SC : **qVm / **qVn "woman" (Be 134 ; Starostin 1984, S 60 have **qwEnV, compared to Nos). Be has data on NC, Sum, Bu qUma "concubine" (a word in Khowar, a Dardic language with a Bu substratum), and Ye.
Sum : géme "maiden, slave" (Krecher 1988)
Comp. by Bengtson,who refers to widespread remote analogies.

219 woods bois Wald лес
a) Dr : *tūr-u "bushes" (DEDR 3401, for Ta, Ko, To, Konda)
AA : *dVr- "forest, tree" (NCu, ?CCu, ECu, CCh, ECh)

Sum : tir "forest"
Comp. between Dr and AA in B-DA 74 ; Sum from B-NE1.

b) SC : **KtC- "wood, twig" (Be 103)
Sum : ĝiš "wood"
Comp. by Bengtson. But his SC form is based only on Sum and Bu gʌčhe / gʌčhi "twig, withe" and ɣʌšk "withe".

See also "tree" (n° 196) and "firewood / piece of wood".

221 worm ver Wurm червь
Nos : **/š/ajrV "nit, louse" (M 336)
Dr : a) *cēr- "centipede", not in NDr (DEDR 2797) ; b) *car- "snake", not in NDr (Ta, Ma, Te, Ga, Go, Konda, Pe, Manda, Kui, Kuwi) (DEDR 2359)... There is also Dr *car- "snake" (SDr, CDr) (DEDR 2359), which is to be distinguished from *cēr- "centipede" (DEDR 2797)
SC : **šErV "louse ; worm, helminth" (S 174 : "There exists also a variant with a suffixed velar both in Nostratic [...] and Sino-Caucasian [...]"). Note that Dr has some of its words ending in -t or -l (see DEDR, n° 2797). Be 100 has SC **sVr- / **šVr- "parasite", adding Ba zorri "louse", zerren "moth, grub, maggot" to the data in Starostin and Nikolaev & Starostin
Sum : šaran, šarin "worm, maggot" (but see below)
Comp. between Nos, Dr, SC, Sum by Boisson, and independently, between SC and Sum, by Bengtson. But the Sum word is obscure, as it is glossed "worm" by Labat and AHw (136, sub *bukānu(m)*), but CAD gives "1. pestle ; 2. (an insect) [...]. The semantic relation between *bukānu* "pestle" and *išid bukāni* a 'tick' or 'bedbug' is not clear". Poor evidence.

See also n° 163 "snake".

224* yellow jaune gelb желтый
See above under "green", n° 72.

SECOND LIST : PARALLELS BEYOND THE 224 BASIC NOTIONS

anger

a) Dr : Ta maṟam "valour, bravery, anger, wrath, enmity, hatred, strength, power, victory, war, killing, murder, Yama" ; Ma maṟam "disagreement, war", Tu marava 'the caste of Maravas (a tribe of warriors)"(DEDR 4763, only for these three languages)

Sum : mer "to be angry, anger" ; mir "to get angry" (AHw), mir-a "angry" (AHw)

b) Dr : *mur-----≠-i- "anger" (DEDR 4991), with various reflexes and derivatives in Ma, To, Ka, Tc, meaning "vexation, sadness, anger, to become angry, to be irritated, to trouble, to vex ; quarrel, displeasure". Cf. (?) DEDR 5011a "to be arrogant, on bad terms with ; to become angry"

Sum : múr = Akk *qablu* "fight ; resentment" (Labat), múr = Akk *qablê* "hypochondriacs" ; murgu "anger" (only in Labat)

These two entries are not easy to distinguish.

ant

Nos : **gu[nç]V, **guça[nV] "worm, ant ?" (Blazek's new hypothesis in B-C), based on the following data :

AA *gʷa[š]- / *gu[ç], which might account for these data. ECu : Somali godalol or godalol "worm", Sidamo goṭančo "termite" ; NOm : Gofa guçəne, Wolaita gutunia "termite" (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 249) ; WCh : N Bauchi *n-gʷa[s]V "termite" (Skinner AAL 4, 1 (1977) : 44 ; Stolbova 1987 : 257, n° 133), but Warji gwaŝala-na may point to another sibilant (ŝ ?) ; also in WCh : Ron : Bokkoo ŋgal "termite", Ngizim kəsər "termite hill" ; CCh : Marji kəŝa "termite", Tera gəŝ "termite hill" ; ECh : Dangla guḍyina (?) "termite" (Newman 1977 : 32, n° 129)

U : *kučə "ant" "ant", also Finno-Ugric *kuńće, *kuće "ant" (UEW : 192-193, 209-210) ; cf. also U *kuńce, *kuće "urine, to urinate" (semantic connexion explained in UEW : 209), and also Dr : Konda kus , Manda kuh- "to urinate" (DEDR 1635)

Proto-Yukaghir *konǯa "worm / caterpillar" (Tailleur UAJb 34 (1962) : 70, n° 86 ; Nikolaeva, Sovetskoe finno-ugrovedenie 24 (1988) : 86, n° 18

A : Tk : Tobol kyčy "Bandwurm" (= "taenia"), Tatar kyčy, Chuvash kurčə "Wurm" (Räsänen 1969 : 260, who compares Tk and Ugric)

? IE : Slavic *gǫsenica "caterpillar" (usually connected with vǫsъ "moustache")

Dr : Ka godda, Kol kaṇda, Ga koṇḍki, Go gōḍe, words for "big ant" (DEDR 2096, only for Ka, Te, ? Kol, ? Ga, ? Go)

Sum : kiši$_{6-9}$ "ant"

Nos reconstruction, and AA, Yukaghir, Tk, IE data in B-C, commenting on a comp. between U, Dr, Sum by Boisson. But note that Ruhlen (1987, on Burushaski) quotes Nos **kUncV, supposedly after I-S's *Opyt* , where I have been unable to trace it.

apple

NC : EC *ʕlämćo-qlūrV "apple-pear"

IE : *(a)masl- "apple"

Sum : hašḫur "apple, apple-tree".

A Wanderwort ; the Sum word is borrowed from EC. Whole entry from Diakonoff & Starostin 1986, Starostin 1988.

bank / embankment / steep place

Nos : **k'arV "cliff, steep elevation" (0 216) ; cf. Sauvageot (1930 : n° 121, 86) : "Le "bord", la "rive", surtout la "berge" ont été désignés en ouralo-altaïque par une racine * karʁ". Note also that Dr has words for "shore, bank", from *kar-a (DEDR 1293)

SC : **GwVrV "stone" (S 80)

Sum : kar = Akk *kāru* "1. embankment (along rivers and canals), quay-wall, wall along a canal or moat, mooring-place, harbor ; 2. harbor-district [...]" (CAD sub *kāru*) . Comp. made independently by Boisson and Machonkin. There are semantic problems : the Sumerian word seems to refer to a man-made "embankment", rather than to "banks", as in Dr ; in other languages, the words refer to steep slopes, rocks, etc.

basket

U : *kurʒ, *korʒ "Korb, Faß aus Rinde" (UEW : 219)

A : see below

Sum : gi-gur "basket", actually "reed basket", gi being "reed" ; gur (the latter in Labat)

B-C points out that Janhunen (1977) compares N Samoyed *kor "Fass, Kiste" with Evenki kor "dishes from birch bark" and Mo qor "quiver", and he interprets this as an Eurasian Wanderwort.

bear (animal)

SC : **XʷarC- (Be 90 ; not in Starostin 1984), based on Ba hartz "bear" ; NC forms with the meanings "squirrel, marten, hamster, otter"; Sum ; Ye : Kot hāš "badger" ; ND words meaning "bear" : Haida Xuuaǯl, Tlingit Xuuc', Eyak Il-xa?, Ath *x̌aš / *x̌ʷaš. Bengtson has Ath *x̌aš / *x̌ʷaš, but note that Huld (1983) gives Ath *x̌ä?dz for "grizzly bear" or "brown bear", and *šʷɒš "black bear". Starostin (1982 : 210-211, n° 71) compares Y *ča/j/aŋ, NC *cʰʷä?n/mV, TB *s-wam/d-wam, cf. Old Chinese wəm. Blažek (B-C) thinks that Ba hartz "bear" comes from IE, and that the correct cognate of Ye an NC "badger, marten" is Ba (h)azkoin, harku, etc. "badger" (M. Löfelmann, Etym. Wb. d. Bask. Spr. 1968, 112).

IE : *ʃkto- or *ʃtko- (or *Hʒt'Vko- ?) "bear", with Hittite ḫartagga- (see Bomhard 1984 : 127 ; Vennemann 1989 : 110)

Sum : az, aza "bear" = Akk *asu*

Comp. between SC and Sum in Bengtson, who accounts for the divergent meanings by "time depth and population movements". Additional observations in B-C. There may be problems in comparing words for "bear", because of the well-known linguistic taboos on that animal. Mann (259) suggests that IE "bear" may be an onomatopoeia based on the animal's grunt. Also terms for "bear" can be borrowed, since it has been said that Tungusic raketa is supposed to come from IE (Sergent 1987 : 585-586) ; but, as pointed out in B-C, this form is a mistake by Trombetti, and the correct words are Evenki nakita, Negidal naxata, etc. "bear-skin", also Even nakita "bear" (SSTMJ 1 : 579) : cf. IE *nak- "hide" (Mann). On taboos for the name of the bear, see also Huld 1983.

beard

Dr : *cōṛa > *sōṛa "beard, a hair (of the head)" only in Kui, Kuwi ? Go (DEDR 2894)

Sum : sùl "beard" (CAD, which gives sú-ul, su-un, su-um under Akk *ziqnu* , AHw 1530, Labat) ; sun_4, su_6 "beard, barbel (of a fish)" (Salonen 1970)

Poor evidence.

blue gem / chemical

Dr : *turu "blue vitriol" (DEDR 3343, for Ta, Ma, Ka, Tu, Te only), with meanings such as "blue vitriol, verdigris, rust" ; cf. Skt tuttha- "blue vitriol"

Sum : $duru_5$ "turquoise" (AHw)

Objectionable evidence, but of course both turquoise and blue vitriol contain copper, hence their common colour.

to bore

Nos : **bura "to bore" ; (O21 ; cf. Bm 3)

Sum : $buru_3$ "hole, cavity, depths ; deep ; to make a hole, to burrow, to pierce ; to be deep ; to penetrate" (PSD). Also bùr "to bore, a hole" (ibid.), "to pierce, to break into a house" (Thomsen).

Remark. It is to be noted that roots of the form **por- / **bor- "to bore" are found in other language families (see Ruhlen 1987). See also the words for "hole" in Nilo-Saharan (Greenberg 1970 : 122, n° 50 ; 140, n° 73).

bovine

IE : *gʷŏ̄u-s "head of cattle, ox, cow"

AA : Eg gw "Art Stier" (compared with IE and Sum by Woelfel 1955 : 58, n° 19) (B-C)

U : *kunta "wild reindeer" (UEW 206-207)

Yukaghir (N) qondieteɣeŋ "male reindeer" (Krejnovič)

Dr : a) *kōṭ-i "bovine" (not in NDr), as in Go goḍu "cow" in DEDR 2074, and Te kōḍe "young bull", Konda kōḍi "cow", Kuwi kōdi "cow" in DEDR 2199. See also Ta kūḷi "ox, covering bull" ; Kod gūḷi "a bull", etc. (DEDR 1917). b) *kōnta- (DEDR 2216) "bull"

A : Mo kandagai "elk, moose" ; TM kandaɣa- "elk" (SSTMJ I : 372)

Sum : gu_4, gud (gudr according to Bauer 1975 and Thomsen) "head of cattle, ox", "Rindvieh" (Deimel), "taureau, bœuf" (Jestin 1943-1954, Labat)

Chance similarity or Wanderwort ? Some think that the IE term was taken from Sum (Sergent 1987 : 586). In any case, animal husbandry was introduced in India by the Dravidians, and not by Indo-Aryans (as Haudricourt reminds me). The Eg word, and what appears to be a set of East Nostratic isoglosses in **kVnt/d- (U, Yukaghir, Dr b), A) are from B-C.

bow (weapon) / arrow

IE : Skt bāṇa- "arrow"

Dr : Go panti or pant, Konda ponti, Pe paṇti, Manda paṇte, all meaning "bowstring" (DEDR 3923)

Austronesian : Makassar pâna "bow", and also an instrument to card cotton, Chru panan, Malay panah, Dayak panah, all "bow" ; in various languages of the Philippines pana "arrow" ; Malagasy fana "bow and arrow" ; Proto-Polynesian *fana "shoot with bow"

Austroasiatic : Mon păn, Khmer păñ, Muong păn, Vietnamese băn, etc. all meaning "to shoot with a bow" ; Santali banam "violin, to play the violin"
Thai *piɨn "arrow" < *pyəən < *(pə)pən < *(pə)pan[aq]
Sum : pana, pan "bow"
Militarëv ("Asian home for Cushitic ?") connects Sum only with AA forms, to which others could be added (Blažek). It has been shown in Blažek & Boisson (1989) that there are many other parallels, only some of which are reproduced here. There already were interesting observations in Autran (1925).

brazier
Dr : Ta kaṉ "copper work, copper, workmanship", kaṉṉān "brazier" ; Ma kannān "id." (DEDR 1402, only for these two languages)
Sum : KI-NE, KI-NE-NE "brazier", the reading being unknown, but possibly ki-ne-ne.

See also n° 56 "fire".

to break
Dr : *paṛ- : Go para han- "to break" ; Pe paḍ-, paṭ- "to break" ; Manda paḍ- "to break" ; Kuwi paḍ- "to break, split, crack", paṭ- "to smash" ; not in NDr (DEDR 3854)
Sum : pad (or padr in Bauer 1975, and in Thomsen) "to break", "to break into pieces, to crumble (trans.)" (Gordon 1959)

bright / day
a) Nos : **mV/ź/V "light, bright, sun" (based on AA and K only) (O 313) [= **mVnz'V (S)], but B-C adds Anatolian forms : Hittite mešri, mišri "light(ning)", Luwian maššawa "God", Lycian mahana, id. (Ivanov 1965 : 46). There are very vague analogies in U : Lapp muoissa- "speciem pulchram habere (de re obsoleta polita" + Mordvin mazi, maze "hübsch" (hence *ma(j)sə in UEW 697)
SC : ** wVmc'V "moon" (S 129)
Sum : maš "1. polished, shining, lustrous, clean, pure (in a cultic sense), holy [...]" (CAD sub Akk *ellu*), "rein, hell" (Deimel, n° 74.294)
Comp. between Nos and SC by Starostin. Anatolian and U data in B-C

b) A : OT kün, kun "day"
SC : Y *ge?n "light" ; EC *(HA)khwEnV ; Old Chinese kwāŋ (Starostin 1984, n° 11.13). See also below.
Bu : gunć "day (in de Grolier)
Sum : kún "bright, to flash"
Comp. between OT, Bu and Sum by de Grolier, SC from Blažek (p. c.). But Bengtson (n° 69) has SC **Gun- / **Gʷen- with data from Ba, NC, Sum, Bu, Ye and ND (his gùn is incorrect, meaning "bunt, mehrfarbig, funkeln, leuchtend", but he also gives kún). Note however, that Blažek (in a letter to Bengtson) reconstructs Nos **ḳuni "light" on the basis of IE, U, Tk.

c) SC : **daG- "day" (Be 70), based on NC, Sum, Bu, ST, ND
Sum : dág "bright, pure"
Comp. by Bengtson. But Bengtson also notes that there is IE *dʰagʷʰ - "day, summer", Semitic *dəG- / *daG- "early morning" (from Bomhard).

d) SC : **c'al- "bright" (Be 122), on the basis of Sum, NC *cal-ʕV "brilliance" (N-S), and ST : TB *sal "clear" (Benedict 1972)
Sum : zal "to shine, be bright"
Comp. by Bengtson.

For all these words, there may be risks of spurious analogies due to the semantic shifts.

buttock
SC : **Gut- "buttock" (Be 38), on the basis of Sum, Bu gît / git "anus", ND : only Haida Goot "buttocks" / "last", Gooda "buttocks", Goda "behind"
Nos : ? **gedi "nape" (O 81) : A *gedi "nape, backside", AA *gd- "nape, backside", to which Be adds IE *gʰed-
Sum : gudu "anus, buttocks"
Comp. between SC, Nos and Sum by Bengtson.

carpenter
AA : *nag(ʷ)Vr "wooden manufacture, tool"
Sum : nagar "carpenter"
Comp. by Militarëv, who suggests Sum might be borrowed from AA.

to chase
Dr : *car- > *sar- "to chase" in these three languages : Ko art- "to pursue (men, game, etc.)" ; Pa carp-, cart- "to drive" ; Ga sarp-, sart- "to drive, to chase", sarc-, sart- "to chase" (DEDR 2362)

Sum : sar "to drive, to chase away" (Thomsen), "to drive (forward, away), to chase" (Gordon 1959). Derived meaning : "to write".

cohortative morpheme
Nos : **K'a cohortative particle (O 207)
Sum : ga- cohortative morpheme
See details in SGE.

container
Dr : Te pūnc "casket, box", poṇaka "large basket" ; Pa pūn "id." (DEDR 4380, for these two languages only)
Sum : bún "container" ; bunin, bunin$_2$ "tub"
Very poor evidence.

coordinative / comitative morpheme
Nos : **daHV, intensifying and conjoining particle (O 60 ; see also Illič-Svityč 1971, vol. I : 17)
Sum : -da, comitative nominal postposition ; -da-, comitative verbal prefix ;
See details in SGE.

copper / ore
IE : *roud^{h}os "ore, copper, metal"
SC : NC : Hurrian urudḫi "copper" (Laroche 1979 : 286-287)
Sum : urudu "copper, ore"
Most probably a Wanderwort (see Dolgopolsky "IE homeland" : 23).

to cross / bridge
Dr : Ta pālam "bridge, jetty, dam" ; Ma pāḷam "bridge over rivers or to connect the walls of compounds" ; Ko pālm "bridge", and similar words in To, Ka, Kod (DEDR 4099)
Sum : bal "to cross, pass through (boundary, rivers, mountains, etc.)" (PSD), "to cross" (Thomsen), "franchir, violer" (Jestin 1943-1954), "franchir, passer" (Labat) ; bal-rì = Akk *ebertu* "(on) the other side of the river" (Labat) ; see also Diakonoff (1983 : 90) on the use of bala in numeration, with the meaning "to go over, to exceed".
B-C points out that Menges (Orbis 1974 : 166-167) compares Dr with Samoyed (Nenets pul "bridge", etc.) and Iranian (Pehlevi pwḫlj "bridge", etc.), and that, on the other hand, Tyler (1968 : 805, n° 34) compares Dr with FU *pamV "dam" (FUV 108).

to crush / to mash

Dr : kum- "to overboil, reduce to a mash by boiling, tread out into a mash" ; destruction" (DEDR 1746 only for Ta, ?Te, Te)
Sum : a) kum "to pulverize" (PSD 100) ; "to crush" (Castellino 1972 : 132) ; "to crush, to shatter" (CAD sub Akk *ḫašālu*) ; "to pound, to smash" (AHw 333, 334 ; Castellino ibid.) ; "to destroy" (Castellino ibid.) ; "mortar" (Castellino 133) ; b) gum "to pound, to crush" (Castellino 1972 : 132) ; "mortar" (Castellino 133 ; Steible (1982) I : 174)
There is a semantic difference between the Dr and Sum words.

date (fruit)
NC : Hurro-Urartian *ʒ̃i/ulumba "date of the *Phoenix dactylifera* " < EC *ʒ̃u(H)l$_1$amV / *ʒ̃u(H)mal$_1$V
AA : Akk suluppu "date"
Sum : zú-lum, zú-lum-ma "date".
Whole entry from Diakonoff & Starostin (1986 : 41) ; contrary to the usual explanation, they think that the Sum word is borrowed from Hurrian, rather than the other way round. Nevertheless, as Haudricourt (p. c.) remarks, the date palm is not a tree of the Hurro-Urartian region, whose mountaineers would rather know the imported fruit coming from the lower and drier regions. Note also that the Sumerian word for date palm, ša$_6$, looks indigenous. Finally, one should be absolutely certain that what we think is a "date" really is such a fruit. For instance the Russian name for what the Japanese call kaki is actually the Arabic name for "date" (Haudricourt, p. c.).

demon
Nos : **/g/Ulja "evil ghost" (B-NE2)
Sum : gàl "démon de l'orage", gal$_5$-lá, galla "sorte de démon" (Jestin 1943-1954), "böser Dämon" (AHw)
Comp. made in B-NE2, Sum words corrected according to more recent literature.

to destroy / to be destroyed / to fall down / to tear down
Dr : Ta kūlu "to fall down, to be overturned, be destroyed, ruined", "to fall down" in Te (DEDR 1907a, only for Ka, Te) ; Go has forms based on kūr- with the meaning "to fall, to topple down/over" ; Konda, Pe, Te have forms based on kūr- meaning "to fall down, to fell, to lie down"
Sum : gul "to destroy, fall upon, to wreck to pieces, to destroy utterly" (Thomsen), "to wreck, destroy, to tear down" (Gordon 1959), "détruire, s'écrouler" (Labat), "zerstören" (Borger)

to distribute

Nos : **bay-/bey- "to apportion, to divide into shares, to distribute, to allot" (Bm) (IE, only Anatolian ; AA (where the forms actually mean "to sell" : see Bomhard 1984 : 203, n° 40), Dr)

ST : **(s-)bəy(-n) "to give" (Benedict 1976)

Sum : ba "to give as a gift or a ration" (Thomsen), "partager, donner en cadeau, gratifier" (Jestin 1943-1954)

Comp. in Bm 24, ST data added by Boisson. But note that the AA forms adduced by Bomhard mean "to sell" (see Bomhard 1984 : 203, n° 40). IE and St were compared in Gluhak, General Linguistics 18 (1978) : 123, as B-C informs me.

See also n° 69 "to give".

to do / to make

IE : *aĝ- "radical form of 'do, go, drive'" (Mann : 3)

AA : CCu : Bilin ʻaγ- "to be, become", Xamir aγ-, Xamta ag-, ak-, Qwara aγ-, Awngi ʻaγ- (Dolgopolsky 1973 : 260) ; ECu *-ik(k)- "to become, be, exist" (Sasse 1982 : 103)

Dr : *āk- "to be, to become ; to cause to be, to make" (see DEDR 333)

Sum : ag, aka, ak "to do, to make ; to shape ; to build"

Verbs meaning both "to be" and "to do/make" are known in a number of languages, notably in Papua-New Guinea. AA data from B-C.

dog

SC : **XʷV-(r) (Bc 87 ; different in Starostin 1984 n° 11), based on Ba hor / or "dog", NC * X̄ʷčlje "dog" (N-S) ; ND : Haida xa / Xaa "dog"

Sum : ur

Comp. by Bengtson ; but they might be independently formed onomatop. words. And I do not find the NC and ND evidence convincing.

donkey / horse

NC : *ħ̄ĭnčwV "horse" > a Lezghian-type form *ʔənču or *ħĭnšw "donkey"

IE : a) *ekʷo-

IE : b) Greek ὄνος, Mycenean ono < ohono-s < *osono-s ; Latin asinus "donkey" ; Arm ēš

Sum : anšu, anše "donkey"

A Wanderwort. Sum is probably a borrowing from a Lezghian-type EC language. (Whole entry from Diakonoff & Starostin 1988 : 34, Starostin 1986 : 114-115, and Chantraine : 805).

door

AA : *ʔa-bi/ul "door"

Sum : abul "gate"

Comp. by Militarëv, who suggests Sum is a loan from AA.

to drip / to splash

Nos : **p'isV "to splash" (O 340), based on K *p's- "to urinate", U *piSa- "to drip", Dr *picV- "drizzle, rain", A *p'isül / *p'üsül "to splash" ; add WCh *pis- / *pič- "to spit, to splash" (Orël & Stolbova 1988, n° 38) ; Hegedűs (1990) also has Nos **p'uč/V/ "urine, fluid excrement ; to discharge urine", based on IE, AA, U (FU)

Sum : biz (= possibly /pitˢ/) "to drip, to ooze, to drop (said of water, oil, resin, body fluids, syrup, wine" (PSD : 161-162).

Independent onomatop. in all cases ? (Cf. Vulgar Latin *pissiare > French pisser > English piss).

duck / hen / partridge

Dr : *tāṛ- "duck, heron" (DEDR 3169, but only for Ta and Ma)

AA : *dir- / *dur- "cock, hen" (NCu, CCu, ECu, NOm, Ch)

Sum : dar "partridge"

Militarëv has the comp. between AA and Sum, and thinks that Sum is borrowed from AA ; but see the Dr data from B-DA.

dull-witted / numb

Dr : *timir- (DEDR 3235, for Ta, Ma, Te, Malto), words with meanings such as "numbness, stiffness from cold ; dullness, sluggishness ; to be numbed ; dull, slow, inactive person"

Sum : dìm "imbecile, weakling" ; dìm-dìm-ma "weakling"

Very poor evidence. Nevertheless, for a semantic analog, cf. Skt jaḍa- "cold, rigid, numb > fool" (Buck).

eagle

Nos : **ħar- / **ħer- "falcon, hawk" (Bm 332) [IE : *H₃er- / *H₃or- "eagle, bird". Dr : a) eruvai "eagle, kite" (DEDR 818, only for Ta, Ma) ; b) ōṛ- "bird" (DEDR 1040, only for Kur, Malto). AA : a) *ʕar/y/- "eagle, sp. bird" (Se, Eg) ; b) *ḥ/u/r- "falcon, sp. bird" (Se, Eg). Cf. K *orb- "eagle"]

Sum : ḫu-rí-in, u₁₁-rí-in "eagle" (PSD, etc.)

Sum word from Boisson ; all the rest from Bm, B-DA 57.

eel / lizard / caterpillar

a) Dr : words based on *mal-, such as Ta malaṅku "eel", and other words in Tu, Te, Go, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, and perhaps Kur (DEDR 4737)

AA : a) *mul(ʕ)- "lizard" (ECu, Berber) ; b) *mal(w)- "fish" (ECu, Om, WCh)

Cf. ? IE : Arm moł̂z "lizard", HG molch "salamander"

Sum : mùl "caterpillar"

Sum word from Boisson, rest of the entry from B-DA 66.

Comp. of Sum with the rest very doubtful for semantic reasons. See the following section.

b) AA : Berber : Ahaggar melul "mite"

IE : Germanic : Gothic malô, OHG miliwa (*melwjō), Old Norse mǫ̨ir, English malshave, "caterpillar" (OED gave Gothic as "moth") ; Slavic *molь "moth" (Kluge 1975 : 478 gives a derivation from *mel- "mahlen")

NC : *ma/ə[l]Val'V "snake, lizard" (Starostin & Nikolaev)

Sum : mùl "caterpillar"

Comp. in B-C, more satisfactory than section a).

enclosure / garden

Nos : **ḴurV "to plait, tie, bind" (O 236) ; to this I might add words found in SDr and CDr (DEDR 1980), from *keṛ-, whose original meaning must have been something like "enclose", I suppose. These words mean : "to fence, to build a wall (as enclosure), to build a fence, to intertwine bamboo so as to build a fence, to shut, to confine, to close, to shut, to dam up, to imprison ; tank, field, garden plot ; pond ; enclosure, dam, limit".

Sum : giri6 "garden, orchard" traditionally, but Lieberman (1977 : 342) gives kere$_x$ and Hruška (p. c.) kiri

We would have the semantic development : "to tie" > "to intertwine" > "to build a fence by intertwine twigs" > "to build an enclosure" > "an enclosure" > "a garden" ? This is highly speculative, and the vowels are different, too.

enclosure of water / dam / ditch / canal

Nos : **padV "dam, enclosure of water" (Hegedűs 1990), based on ?PIE *budʰos giving words meaning "ditch", "depth", "to build" (Mann's dictionary : 55) ; U *paδ´ɜ "dam, weir (for fishing)" (UEW 347) ; also A *pada- / *padi, including Mo *adar, *adayir "thin boards, reeds or straw put under the roof tiles" and words meaning "to build"

Sum : pa$_4$, pa$_5$, pa$_6$ "ditch, canal"

Very poor evidence.

end

Dr : *tīṛ- "to end, to be completed" (Krishnamurti 1961 : 384 ; see the words in DEDR 3278, for all branches of the Dr family)

Sum : til "to be completed, to finish, to cease, to perish" (Thomsen), "to be finished, to come to an end" (Gordon 1959), "zu Ende gehen, vollenden, Ende" (Deimel, Borger)

Imperfect phonetic matching.

to enter

a) Dr : NDr words based on *kōr- "to enter" : Kur kōrnā "to enter, go in, (fever) seizes, be readmitted among" ; Malto kore "to enter, go in, enlist", kortre "to let enter, thrust in" (DEDR 2236)

A : Tk *kīr "eintreten", cf. OT ki-gür "hineinführen" (Räsänen 1969 : 271)

Sum : ku$_4$.r "to enter, to let enter, to bring in" (Thomsen)

A data from B-C.

b) Dr : *tūṛ- "to enter, penetrate" (DEDR 3399, for all branches of Dr). But Krishnamurti (1961 : 388) posits Dr *tūṭ-, "ultimately *tū-".

Sum : tur$_5$ "to enter, to bring in" (Yoshikawa 1968 : 404)

excrement

Dr : *pīk- "excrement" (DEDR 4210, for all branches of Dr) > *pī in Ta, Ko, Ka, Tu, Nk, Pa, Br.

Sum : bi$_7$ "excrements, dung ; to shit ; to fart" ; be$_5$ "excrement ; to shit"

B-C gives a number of "global etymologies", and notes that Trombetti (Elementi) compared Dr with forms in pVn-.

face / beard, etc.

SC : **muč(?)- "beard" (Bc 16)

Sum : muš "face, appearance"

Comp. by Bengtson, on the basis of Ba musu ("lip, face, mouth, snout, kiss"), NC *mɔč'V- ("braid, hair, beard"), Sum muš, Bu muš ("face, beard"), ST (2 languages for "moustache", "chin"), Ye *bunč- ("face, chin"), ND *wAš "cheek". Shevoroshkin (quoted in Be) has a comp. with "Amerind" (see Greenberg 1987) **moCV "beard". The comparison is suggestive, and the semantic relationship between "face", "chin", "cheek", "beard", "moustache" not implausible.

fat (animal, person) / to fatten
AA : WCh *mawrV / miwrV "fat" (Stolbova 1987 : 233, n° 802). Newman (1977 : 30, n° 95) reconstructs *mar- "oil"
Dr : *mur- (not NDr) as in Ta murañcu "to mature, be old, ancient ; to be full, abundant", mūri "strength, greatness" ; Tu mūrų "fat, stout, corpulent" ; Te mūru "to increase, to be full" , and Nk, Pa, Go words meaning "to mature, ripen, grow old" (DEDR 4969, 4970)
Sum : mur "to fatten ; mur, mur-gud "fattening food" (AHw)
The basic idea in Dr is more "mature"/"full" than "fatness", so that the parallel is not very satisfactory. AA data in B-C.

field
IE : *(H)agro- "field"
NC : EC *ʕŭć'ć'ŭrV "meadow, glade" (Starostin 1988 : 131)
AA : *hagar "arable field" (Dolgopolsky "IE homeland")
Sum : agar "field"
Most probably a Wanderwort (see Autran 1925, Dolgopolsky "IE homeland" : 23, D. Cohen : 19, sub 'KR). Note that if Sum was the donor language, the word probably had an initial /h/.

See also "meadow".

finger
SC : **t'up' / **c'up- (? **st'up-) "finger" (Bc 24)
Sum : dubbin "finger, nail, claw" (but see below)
Comp. by Bengtson. There is a problem with dubbin = "finger, nail, claw". Delitzsch (1914) and Jestin (1965) gloss it so, but the only other source where I found it is in Salonen (1951 : 104), who also gives dubbin = "Kralle, Finger", then, metaphorically, the wheel of a chariot. But note that there is dub-dub "to comb" (PSD 194), and dub "eine Holzklammer" (AHw 1446). On the other hand, there is a widely attested umbin = 1. "fingernail, claw, hoof" (see CAD sub Akk *ṣupru*) ; 2. "wheel" (see CAD sub Akk *magarru*) ; 3. "a hair slide, barrette", "a comb". The word umbin is also found in : umbin-aka-a, umbin-kin, umbin-dúb "to cut with the ĝiš-umbin-tool", perhaps "to work the hooves" = "to manicure the hooves of the sacrificial animal" (see Klein 1981 : 154, CAD sub *gullubu*) ; also umbin ku_5, umbin-si "to shear" ; umbin-siki "a comb". But umbin is not found in Delitzsch, which is a bit strange - unless dubbin is wrong, or an older reading, for umbin.

firewood / piece of wood
Dr : a) *kaɽ- "firewood" (DEDR 1389, SDr only) ; b) *kor/ɽ- "firebrand" (DEDR 2229, for Ta, Ka, Te, Konda only) c) *kuɽ- "piece of wood" (DEDR 1842, for Ta, Ma, Ko, To, Ka, Kod, Tu, Te)
AA : *k'ar/w:- "wood, tree (Se, ECu, SCu)
IE : *kʷer "part of a tree/root ; trunk ; log"
SC : EC *k̆ŏrV "stick, piece of log", Tibetan m-khar "pole, stick", Y (Sym = Jug, a dialect related to Ket) ko?l "stump" (Starostin 1989, n° 4.9)
Sum : kur_4 "une sorte de piège, bois à brûler" (Labat n° 483), "ein Stück von Stamm (Holz oder Rohr)" (AHw 512)
Sum and SC from Boisson, rest of the entry from B-DA 75.

fly / gnat
AA : Se : Arabic nāmūsa- "zanzara" ; CCh : Wandola nama "Biene"
U : *nimɜ "gnat" (UEW : 303) ; and cf. Finno-Permian *nume (*nome) "small fly or gnat" (UEW : 710-711)
Dr : Konda nōmbu, nōm, Pe nōm "flea, tick" (DEDR 3796)
Sum : nim "a fly, a gnat" ; num "a fly".
AA data from B-C. These may be independent onomatop. in AA, U, Dr and Sum, as, supposedly IE *mu- "fly" is also an onomatop. Nevertheless the phonetic shapes are very characteristic. B-C says that Schrader (Z. f. Indologie u. Iranistik 3 (1925) : 95, n° 48) compares U and a Ta word ñimiru "Käfer, Biene", and Trombetti (Elementi) compares Samoyed with Australian words in Schmidt...

frost
SC : **čɪg-(Vr-) "frost" (Bc 86), on the basis of Ba, NC, Sum, Bu, ST, Ye.
Sum : $šeg_4$ "Frost ; Kälteschauer" (AHw 1287)
Comp. suggested by erroneous comp. in Bengtson, who quoted šèḡ "wetness, rain" instead. His še is "fire" (AHw 392), while "cold" is $šed_7$, $še_{12}$.

garden : see **enclosure / garden**

to go down (or up)
Dr : a) Kur ettnā "to come or go downward, descend alight, run or flow down, cross (a river), be dispirited", etta'ānā "to cause to descend [...]" ; Malto etc "to go down", eto "lower, smaller", ettre "to bring or take down" (the only two languages in DEDR 798)

Dr : b) Ka ettu "to lift, raise, take up [...]", and many other words in Ko, Tu, Te, Kol, Go, Konda, Pe, Manda, Kui, To, but not in NDr (DEDR 796)

Sum : e_{11}.d "to go down (or up), to bring down (or up) (Thomsen) ; e_{11}, èd = Akk *(w)arādu* "hinabsteigen" + *elû* "hinaufsteigen" (Borger)

Note the apparently antinomic meanings "to go down / to go up, to take up", both in Dr and in Sum.

goat / gazelle

AA : *^{m}baṢ "small antelope" (Skinner 1984), but more probably *maṢ ; cf. Se *mašk- "skin, leather"

IE : *mois- "hide, skin", or "leather sack", or both, but possibly "goat- / sheep-skin" < "goat / sheep" originally, or in another language from which this was borrowed

Bu : mašk "skin bag for carrying water" (probably a loanword)

Sum : máš "young (male) goat, adult male goat, kid" ; maš "adult male goat", also "gazelle" ; many compounds. There might be two AA roots (Blažek, p. c.). For details see Boisson "Caprines and antelopes".

grain

AA : Se : Akk šē "barley, grain" ; ECu : Hadiya so?o "barley", Sidamo šo?ē "ear with grain" ; WCh Angas šwe, Ankwe sowa "a kind of ??" (more specifically, Stolbova (1987 : 201, n° 521) reconstructs WCh *ĉaHwa "millet") ; cf. *suy/? "to sow, to plant".

? IE : *sē- "to sow" (Mann)

Sum : še "barley, grain"

Comp. by Militarëv, who suggests that Sum may be borrowed from AA. IE data in B-C, who also drew my attention to Stolbova.

to grind

Dr : *ar- "to grind", as in Ta arai "to become macerated, worn out ; to grind, pulverize, destroy by rubbing, mash, destroy, clear of seeds" ; Kod ara "to grind with roller stone, mix up in a paste in preparing curry spices" ; Tu arepuni "to pulverize by pounding or grinding" ; in other languages (Te, Go, Pe, Kui, Kuwi) there are words with the meaning "to rub, to scrape" ; cf. also Ta aram "file, rasp" (DEDR 228)

IE (Eastern) : *al- "to grind, pound, crush" (Mann : 14, for Skt, Avestan, Arm, Gk)

Sum : àr "to grind ; miller" (Labat) ; àra, àr-ra, arà "to grind", "to pulverize (in a mortar)" (cf. MSL III : 53, 98, Landsberger in Foxvog & Kilmer 1975) ; ara_5 "mill" (Jestin 1943-1954). "Miller" used to be read àr-àr but is now read kin-kin (Durand, p. c.).

Remarks. 1) Western IE has words from *mel-. As Pedersen (1931 = 1972 : 330-331) puts it : "The only probable inference is that Latin molō is an ancient Common Indo-European technical term which was forced out, in a group of Eastern languages, by a new word, in connection with some technical advance". Note that I-S (O 302) has Nos **molV "to break, smash to pieces", so that the words in mVl may be older than IE. 2) Haudricourt (p.c.) speculates if there might not be a connection between Sum àr "to grind" and IE *ar- "to plough" (q.v. under "to plough"), the common semantic origin being something like "to reduce into powder", primitive ploughing being superficial and involving a sort of pulverization of the soil rather than a very deep cut. It may be noted that other general terms such as mel- and peis-, both "to crush" may have received an agricultural specialization too (Sergent 1987 : 495-496). See also Blažek & Boisson 1989.

to grow

Nos : **bol?i "to grow (of plants") (O 16) = **bul-/ **bol- (Bm 16)

Sum : $bulug_3$, $bulug_5$ "to grow up (1. said of children, young of animals ; 2. said of plants), to rear, to make grow" (PSD)

Comp. first made by Machonkin, then Boisson, Bombard.

a heap / to heap up grain / to sweep the threshing-floor in order to gather grain

Dr : Ta $cā_{11}u$ "to sweep the threshing-floor and gather scattered grain". Te cāru "to sweep the threshing-floor with a broom" (DEDR 2483, with data for only these two South and Central Dravidian languages)

Sum : zar, zàr, and their Akk equivalents, have somewhat different glosses : zar "threshing-floor ; corn-barn" (AHw 608, 1030) ; zàr "corn-barn" (AHw 1030). Lieberman (1977 : 529-530) translates both words as "heap of grain", and CAD as "grain pile", "shock, stack (of sheaves of barley)". The corresponding verbal meaning is given as "to heap up" (barley) in Salonen (1968). Yet could the possibility of independent specialization from an etymon having an originally unspecialized, non-agricultural meaning ("heap", "to gather") be entertained (see section 4 above) ? This is quite possible, because Sumerian zar actually refers to any kind of "heap", including heaps of ears from dead enemies (Durand, p. c.). Or should one consider this

as another instance of a Wanderwort ? See also Blažek & Boisson1989.

high / to lift

?? IE : *ana "on, upon" (Mann)
Dr : Ta aṇ "upper part", aṇa "to lift the head ; Ma aṇṇal "high, God, esp. Arhat" ; Ka aṇṇe "excellence, purity" ; Tu aṇāvuni "to look up" (DEDR 110, with other words, but only for these four languages)
Sum : an, anta "high ; to lift ; sky"
IE data from B-C.

house / to dwell

a) AA : *dVyVr- "to live" ; dar "house" (Militarëv, Orël & Stolbova 1989 : 145, n° 23)
Sum : dúr, durun "to sit, to live somewhere"

b) AA : *hay- "dwelling", based on Eg, WCh, Minyara-Masai (Militarëv, Orël & Stolbova 1989 : 148, n° 35) ; *[ḫ]ay "house", based on Eg, CCu (ibid. : 150, n° 42), but additional AA data in B-C (after Blažek's paper in Moscow, 1989) : ECu (Somali), Beja, SOm, ?WCh, CCh
Sum : é "house", possibly from Old Sum *hay, with an /h/ (cf. Falkenstein 1959 : 24, note e ; for various borrowed forms in Se, see D. Cohen : 18) ; incidentally, if this is so, Sumerian e in this word may have been a long /e:/ from the monophtongization of /ai/ at some early stage.

c) AA : *dV'kʷ-an (attested in WCh "house, to build" and in ECu "tent"
Sum : dakan "inner, chamber room" (Akk *dakkanu-* is borrowed from it)
Comp. by Militarëv, who thinks that Sum may have borrowed the word from AA.

See also "place/village/house" below.

hill

AA : ECu : Saho saray, Somali saräy "Oberseite, Höhe, Spitze", sēri "forest". Leslau (1963 : 142) quotes Harari säri "mountain" < ECu
K : Georgian seri "monticule", Laz sirti "sommet de colline", which Tailleur, (Lingua 12 (1963) : 401) with Ainu širi "mountain"

IE : *ser- (A. Heubeck, Idg. *ser "oben", Orbis 13 (1964) : 264-267) ; cf. also Avestan harā, Persian har "Name eines sagenhaften Gebirges" (Bartholomae c. 1787-1788)
? U : Finno-Volgaic śŭrjä "Seite, Kante, Rand" (UEW 779)
Dr : *cōr- > *sōr- "hill" only for two languages : Kui sōru "hill, mountain" ; Kuwi hōrū "hill" (DEDR 2887)
Sum : sur$_7$ =Akk *bīrūtū* "hill" ("Anhöhe, Hügel, Ruinenhügel" in Borger (1964 : 41) ; see also Delitzsch 1914) (see below)
Additional AA, K, IE, U data from B-C. But there is a big problem for the Sum word, which is given elsewhere as "depth, underground".

to jump

Dr : *kut-i "to jump ; to move briskly", as in Ta kuti "to jump, leap, bound [...]" ; Tu guttu "a leap, jump" ; Te kudupu "to shake (tr.), agitate, jolt" ; Kur kuddnā "to move about" (DEDR 1705)
Sum : gu$_4$.ud "to jump" (Thomsen), "sauter, saillir, tressaillir" (Labat) ; a reduplicated form is quoted in MSL ; "(an)springen, angreifen, entkommen" AHw sub Akk *šaḫātu*

kidney / small of the back

a) Dr : *kuṇ-ṭ- "heart/kidney" : Ta kuṇṭi "heart, kidney, roe of fish" ; Te guṇḍe "the chest, heart, courage, boldness" ; Nk guṇḍur-kāya "kidney" ; Go gundur-kāiā "kidney" ; Malto konḍa "chest" (DEDR 1693). Dr is compared with Nos *golHV "heart" in O (232)
AA : NOm : Sezo kāni "belly", Dache ḳance "belly", Dorsha ḳančazi "stomach", Gofa ḳanca "belly", Woliata kánca "stomach" ; WCh : Ngizim kwùnu, Bade kún "belly" ; N Bauchi : Jimbin kyan "heart, life, liver"
Sum : kún, ur-kún = Akk *rapaštu* "kidney", "Becken, Kreuz (v. Mensch), Keulen (v. Tier)" (AHw), "reins, bassin" (Labat)
AA data and observation on I-S from B-C.
b) SC : **bVr- / **bVl- "kidney" (Be 50), on the basis of Ba barrabil "testicle", Sum, Ye *bajbVl "kidney" (Starostin 1982)
Sum : bir "kidney"
Comp. by Bengtson, who also mentions IE *bʰallo- (Gk phallos, English, Swedish ball)

kinship / in-laws

Dr : *muṛ- (not NDr), as in Ta muṛai "order, arrangement [...], relationship by birth or marriage" ; Ko moyr "relationship between kin" ; To mïṛ "relationship by blood or marriage" ; Tu

mudè, muddè "consanguinity" ; Konda mur "kinsman" (DEDR 5015)
Sum : a) $murub_5$ "son-in-law" ; b) $muru_5$ "brother-in-law" ; c) murum "father-in-law" (Grégoire 1976 : 78, after Falkenstein, Sjöberg)

to kiss / lip
a) AA : NOm : Mocha nōno "language, mouth, lip", Shinasha nōnō "tongue", Anfillo nōnō "mouth", Gimira nōn, Chare nōnō, Koyra nunā, etc. "mouth" (Mukarovsky 1987 : 377)
Dr : *nonḍ- (with no forms in SDr) "to caress, to kiss" : Go nonḍānā "to spoil, pet, kiss" ; Konda noṇḍ- "to caress" ; Pe nonḍ- "to kiss" ; Kui nonḍ- "to kiss, caress" ; Kuwi notkali, londinai "to kiss", nonḍ- "to kiss, embrace" ; Malto naḍre "to caress" (DEDR 3787)
Sum : nundum, nundun "lip"
AA data from B-C.

b) Dr : *cunṭu "bill / lip / mouth" (DEDR 2664, for all branches of Dr)
Sum : šu.um.du.um "lip", the Eme-sal equivalent of Eme-gir nundum
Very doubtful.

lamb / antelope
AA : *šil "(roan) antelope" (Skinner 1984)
Sum : sila "lamb".
See Boisson "Caprines and antelopes" for details.

lattice / to wattle
Dr : *muṭ- "to braid, plait, wattle ; screen made of coconut leaves, basket, umbrella of palm-leaves..." (DEDR 4927, only for Ta, Tu, Te)
Sum : mur, muru, $muru_2$-dú "lattice" (Lieberman 1977 : 397)

mark / spot on the body
Dr : *cib- "spot on the body", in these languages : Ko ceb "sores on the mouth in syphilis" ; Ka cibba, etc. "a whitish, reddish or blackish spot on the body" ; Tu cibbu "white spots on the body" ; Te sibbiyamu, etc. "a sort of discoloration and spots formed on the skin" ; Go subbā "white patches on a man's skin" (DEDR 2536). DEDR indicates that these are "said to be from Skt sidhma- blotch, leprous spot, leprosy", but the Dr forms generally end with a bilabial stop.

Sum : zíb = Akk *ittu* "mark on the body" (Landsberger in Foxvog & Kilmer 1975), "mark, sign, feature, characteristic, omen, ominous sign" (CAD)
Note. There may be good reasons to posit that Sum z = /t^s/ (see Boisson "Contraintes typologiques").

meadow
IE : *wel- "the Meadow of the Otherworld : a pastureland for the departed (especially of royalty in the afterlife" > Hittite wellu- "meadow", Homeric Gk Ἠλύσιον, an adjective qualifying the abode of the dead (according to Puhvel1969, who suggests other reflexes in Old Norse and Old Russian ; see also Masson 1989 : 35-36)
K : Georgian veli "field", which is compared by Gleje (1900 : 118) with Finnish välä (but Blažek found only Estonian väli "field"), Mordvin velä, vele "village, county" (UEW 822 gives *wilwa "Schar, Menge")
Sum : ùl, ul_4, ulul, úlul "field, open field ; meadow" ; ul "blühendes Gras"
K data and observation on Gleje from B-C.

milk / butter / cream
Dr : *kaṛ- "to milk" (DEDR 1385, SDr only)
AA : *kar- "curdled milk, butter" (Se, NCu, Be)
Sum : ga "milk", gár = Akk *lišdu* "cream" (CAD ; Jacobsen 1983 : 198), "Fettmilch" (Deimel), ga-ra "Rahm" (MSL III : 103)
Comp. between Sum and Dr in Boisson. New AA data and the whole entry in B-DA 113.

mongoose
Dr : *kīri "mongoose" in Ta, Ma, Ka, Kod ; kirpeni in Kui ((DEDR 4900) ; the standard word is of course mūṅka, the origin of the western words
IE : *gəlis "small creature, mouse, weasel" : Skt giri-, girika- "mouse", Gk γαλεη "weasel", Latin glīs "dormouse" (Chantraine ; Delamare ; Mann)
A : Tk *kīl' (kiš) "Zobel" ("sable") and Samoyed *kili "Zobel" (Janhunen 1977 : 126). Janhunen thinks that Tk > Samoyed, while Xelimskij thinks the reverse
? SC : Ye *kulap "Hermelin" (Toporov in Ketskij sbornik I (1968) : 303, 312), and EC : Lak ḳulu, Putul qul, Budux qal "mouse" (Xajdakov 1971 : 13) ; Werkchikwar girkis "mouse" (Lorimer) (< IAryan ?). Cf. NC reconstruction *q°'ĕIlă "mouse" (Starostin & Nikolaev).

Sum : kilim "mongoose" ; also nin-kilim "lady-mongoose", which is also the name of a minor deity in charge of small carnivores
Imperfect phonetic fit between Dr and Sum ; comparison with IE doubtful. A and SC data in B-C, who also points out that IE and FU *käδ'wä "Hermelin" are compared by Čop (KZ 1974 : 49), the correspondance between FU *-δ'- and IE *-Hl- being regular according to Dolgopolsky (Etimologia 1970 (1972).

mortar / millstone

Dr : *ur-al "mortar", where -al is a derivational suffix (Zvelebil 1970 : 69) (see the words in DEDR 651 ; see also 665)
Sum : ur_5 "millstone" (MSL III : 51), "unterer Mühlstein" (Borger)
It could be argued that words for "mortar" should belong to the basic word list in the case of ancient Near East languages, just as Matisoff (1978 : 135) decided to include this notion in his 200-word list for Southeast Asia. Neolithic stones (the equivalent of "metates" [the nether millstones] and "manos" [the handstones used as an upper millstone] in Meso-America) could either be used to polish axes, or to pulverize ochre, or to grind wild or cultivated grain. See Blažek & Boisson 1989.

musical instrument

Dr : Ta timilai, Ma timila "a kind of drum". Cf. Skt timilā- "a musical instrument" (DEDR 3237, only for these two languages) ; cf. Skt timilā- "a muscial instrument"
Sum : dim, dìm "a musical instrument" (the sign has the determinative for "wooden object")
Very poor analogy. A probable onomatopoeia (cf. DEDR 3236, 3233).

nest

Dr : *kūṭu "nest", with numerous words meaning "nest", and others with different meanings : Kuwi kūda "cage (made of bamboo)" ; Malto kúṭgle "the hoop or spring of a kind of mouse-trap" (DEDR 1883) ; cf. Skt kūṭa "trap for catching deer"
Sum : gùd "nest" (Deimel, PSD 206, Heimpel 40, Thomsen 74, Jestin 1943-1954)

oil / oil- or resin- producing plant

IE : a) *elu-, *eln- "juniper, cedar" : Arm cłevin "cedar", Gk ἐλάτη "fir-tree", Russian еловый "fir, spruce", Belo-Russian jelenec "juniper", Polish jałowiec "juniper", Breton lann "juniper", Hittite alanca "a kind of wood" (Delamarre 1984 : 169 ; Mann : 239 ; Chantraine : 332). Actually, Hittite alanza < alŋso- belongs

to the tree-names represented by Lat alnus, etc. (Puhvel JAOS 97 (1977) : 598 ; Id. Hitt. Et. Dict. 1 (1984) : 29-30)
IE : b) Gk ἐλαί(ϝ)α , Mycenean erawa "olive-tree, olive" ; ἔλαιον "olive oil", Mycenean erawo ; Arm ewł ; most of the European words for "oil" < Lat oleum < Gk ; a "Mediterranean" Wanderwort ? (Chantraine 1968). For "olive", cf. Berber : Tuareg Ahaggar (Foucauld) âleo "olivier sauvage" (Woelfel 1955 : 79, n° 17 : Berber + Gk + Lat + Gothic)
? AA : Se : Akk alammakum, elimmakum, Ugaritic almg, Hebrew 'almuggīm, Talmudic Aramaic 'almūg, "sandalwood ? juniper ?" (D. Cohen : 21). The Akk word is glossed " a tree" in Gelb (1957 : 41)
Dr : Tamil eḷ and similar words in Ma, Ka, Konda, Kod, Tul, for "*Sesamum indicum* , sesame seed, sesame seed oil, oil" (DEDR 854)
Sum : illu (AHw, Borger, Labat), e_4-la (Labat) "resin"
The conjectural proto-meaning would be "oil" > "oil- or resin-producing plant or tree" (or the reverse ?) ; for a semantic parallel, cf. IE pitus "pine-tree", probably linked to piks "pitch, resin". But note that Sum for "oil, fat" is ià, and that IE etyma for "resin, gum" are $g^{w}etu/g^{w}etwe$, pik- or pīt-, sap-, and smolos. On the whole this assemblage of divergent words is pretty suspicious. Correction of Hittite and Berber data from B-C

to peel off

Dr : *cil- to peel off" (probably not NDr), as in Ta iḷi "to strip off, to pluck" ; Tu cikuni "to flay" ; Pa ciḷŋg "to peel off, flake off (intr.)", cikip- "to peel off, scale off (tr.) ; Kui slinga "to be plucked, untied, loosened" (DEDR 2585)
Sum : zil "to peel off, to strip off" (Thomsen)
Note. There may be good reasons to posit that Sum z = /ʦ/ (see Boisson "Contraintes typologiques")

pen, corral / yard

IE : *d^{hw}oros "yard, court"
Dr : *tor≠- "cattle-stall, stable, pen, corral" in Ta, Ma, Ko, To, Pa (DEDR 3526)
Sum : tùr "stable, pen, yard", "Viehof" (Deimel ; MSL III, 140), "étable" (Jestin 1943-1954), "enclos à bétail" (Labat)
Comp. between IE and Sum independently made in Jajlenko (1990), who also adds A forms, as B-C informs me.

pit / tank / well

Dr : Te uppara "name of a caste whose occupation is digging tanks, etc.", uppari " a digger, tank-digger", Ta upparavar "a Telugu caste who are usually tank- and well-digger and road-workers" (< Te) (DEDR 626 for these two languages only)
Sum : ub_4 "hole in the ground" (Lieberman 1977 : 509-510, n° 681) ; "pit, pitfall" (AHw 350, 1292) ; "well, tank" (AHw 141, but giving Sum pú) ; "1. well, cistern ; 2. fish pond ; 3. waterhole, source ; 4. hole, pit" (CAD sub Akk *būrtu*) ; "pitfall" (CAD sub Akk *ḫuballu*)
The Dr evidence is very limited.

place / village / house
Dr : a) ur≠- "place" (DEDR 684, only for Ta, Ma) ; b) *ūr- "village, town, house" (DEDR 752, for all branches of Dr, McAlpin 1981) ; c) *aṛ- "room, house" (DEDR 322, not in NDr)
AA : a) *wār- / *wur- "kin, family, house, village, city, place" (ECu, Ch, after Hayward, newman, Kraft, Strümpell, Sölken, Lukas) ; b) *ʕ/a/yr-/ *ʕary- "city, house" (Se, ECu)
IE : *wer- "fortified place, city" ; see also IE *-wor, *-ur "adverbial formant of place and time" (Mann : 1577)
U : FU : *werV "place" (UEW 569)
A : Tk-Mo : *orun "place" (Räsänen 1969 : 365)
Sum : uru "city"
Comp. between Sum and DEDR 752 in Boisson ; the whole entry from B-DA (107) and B-C. It may be necessary to split this entry into different word-families.
See also "house" above.

a plough / a spade / a hoe / a sickle
This important entry includes three sub-entries, all of them cases of Wanderwörter. See Blažek & Boisson 1989 for the full details.

a) AA : *marr- "hoe", a widely attested word.
Dr : *mēr≠-i- "plough-tail, plough-handle, plough" (DEDR 5097, not attested in "North Dravidian"). But also perhaps *mar≠- "axe" (DEDR 4749, also in Malto)
IE : Latin marra "a kind of mattock or single-bladed hoe" ; Late Gk μάῤῥον, which has been considered as coming from Latin.
Sum : mar "shovel, spade", or "mattock, hoe". See Salonen (1968 : 118).
Comp. by Blažek. This is likely to be a Wanderwort, perhaps originally from Sumerian, although Militarëv suggests that the Sumerian word may itself have been borrowed from Afroasiatic. He points out that Afroasiatic has *verbs* and not

only nouns, so that one could reconstruct Proto-Afroasiatic *mVrr "to hoe". This would constitute an argument in favour of the Afroasiatic origin.
In our group of words there were semantic shifts from "spade" to "hoe", and, more importantly, to "plough", but this is not a very strong objection, as one can find similar changes elsewhere, as in the family of words meaning "harrow", "plough", "hoe" in Indo-European. Even stranger transmutations are not unknown, as in the Germanic terms for "sail", which happen to be related to words for "plough-tail" in other Indo-European languages (see Mann's dictionary).

b) AA : Se : Akk niggallu "sickle", Arabic root njl "to cultivate, till". Other data in Berber, WCh, CCh, ECh
Dr : *ñāñkel(V), *ñāñkVrV̄ "plough" (Bongard-Levin & Gurov 1988 : 69 ; modern words in DEDR 2907), or perhaps preferably *ñāñkVl/r-
IE : Skt lāṅgala-, already in the Ṛg-Veda
Austroasiatic : Mon-Khmer : Khasi lyṅkor, Khmer ankal, Müöng càl < *gal, Vietnamese cay, Koho ngal, Tembi tengāla. Munda : Santali nahel, Ho nail, Mundari nāel, naial "wooden frame of the plough" (North Munda *nahɛl < na(N)kɛl according to Bongard-Levin & Gurov 1988 : 74). All these words mean "plough" except for the last one.
Austronesian : Cham langal, langar. Malay tangala. Batak tingala. Makassar nankala. Bugi rakala. They all mean "plough". Bugi and Makassar are spoken in Celebes (Sulawesi).
Sum : ní g̃-g̃ala$_{x+1}$, or ní g̃-g̃ál "sickle"
Comp. by Blažek. On previous studies, see : Przyluski (1924), Haudricourt & Jean-Brunhes Delamarre 1955 ; Kuiper (1948). Actually, as Jean-Marie Durand points out (p. c.), the Sumerian word could be a reinterpretation through the well-known process of "folk etymology" (or simply by graphic remotivation) of an opaque foreign word imported into Sumerian. Indeed an hypothesis by Militarëv would view the ultimate origin as being not Sumerian, but Afroasiatic, and he reconstructs Proto-Afroasiatic *nigal- "to reap ; (reaping sickle)"

c) Dr : Ta kalappai "plough, ploughshare" ; Ma kalappa "plough and what belongs to it" ; Ka kalapu "materials for a house, for a plough, etc." ; Te kalapa "materials for a plough, timber for building" (DEDR 1304, only for these four languages)
Sum : gal_4-la-apin. This is a compound meaning "vulva of the plough", based on gal_4-la, gal_4 "vulva" and apin "plough". See

Salonen (1968 : 86-87, and 73, drawing n° 4). The names of the parts of the plough are systematically the names of sexual organs : penis, vulva, clitoris (see the drawing in Salonen). The Sum plough was actually a drill-plough (Haudricourt , in Haudricourt & Jean-Brunhes Delamarre 1986 ; but see Hruška 1985)

This comparison between Dr and Sum is nevertheless quite doubtful, as there is a much better parallel between Dr and Akk kalappu / kalabbu "an ax : a) in general [...] ; b) for cutting roads [...] ; c) as a symbol" (CAD). Note that Akk kalappu has no Semitic etymology.

Finally, another remarkable fact concerning the words for plough is the existence in Dr of Ta araka "a plough with bullocks, etc. complete" and Malto are "a plough", looking suspiciously like IE words formed on *ar- "to plough" (Mann : 31, 35), which is all the more remarkable since, although words in *ar- are attested as far east as in Armenian and Tokharian, they are unknown in Indo-Iranian. On ar- see also above the entry "to grind".

See also below the entry "to plough".

to plough

Dr : *ur≠u- "to plough" (DEDR 688, for all branches of Dravidian except Brahui)

K : perhaps Georgian ur- "bebauen ; verwalten, hüten" (Fähnrich 1981 : 92, n° 20) ?

AA : there are obscure forms (see Blažek & Boisson 1989)

Sum : uru_4 "to plough ; to till" ; ùr "to drag (over the ground)", "to harrow" (Labat 1976).

If we restrict ourselves to the clear cases of Dravidian and Sumerian, this looks like a beautiful instance of Wanderwort. Nevertheless one should not neglect altogether the possibility of cognation, because of the possibility of independent specialization from an etymon having an originally broad, non-agricultural meaning (see the section on "mortar / millstone"). A reasonably good argument in favour of this solution would be that we are dealing with verbs, which are considerably less prone to borrowing than nouns.

to pluck / to peel

Dr : *ur- "to peel, pluck, flay, slough", as in Ta uri "to peel ; strip off (as clothes), deprive of, rob", urivai "skin, hide, peel, rind, stripping, flaying, peeling off" Ka uricu "to flay, strip off covering or skin, cast off (as the slough)" ; Koraga urbu "to

pluck leaves" ; Go ūcānā "to strip hemp, pluck (bird) [..]" ; Kur urnā "to rub off the leaves of a branch, the spikes of a corn-ear, by passing the hand along" ; Malto urgre, urwre "to fall off (as the hair), slip off", etc. (DEDR 652)

Sum : ur_4 "to pluck (wool)" (Landsberger, MSL VIII/1 in Foxvog & Kilmer 1975), "couper, tondre (les moutons)" (Jestin 1943-1954). In Mesopotamia, the wool was plucked from the sheep.

plural morpheme

Nos : **-NA, a suffix of plural animate nouns (O 333, Hegedűs 1988)

SC : **-nV, plural suffix (S)

Sum : -ene plural ending for animate nouns.

See details in SGE and additional Nos data in Hegedűs 1988. American parallels in Ruhlen (1989a "Nostratic-Amerind cognates, n° 12).

poison / spittle

IE : *wǐs- "poison" (Mann : 1545)

Dr : *ūc- "to spit" (DEDR 578 ; Emeneau 1975 ; not in NDr)

U : Finno-Permian *wiša "Gift / grün, gelb" (UEW 823-824 ; Joki 1973 gives it as < Indo-Iranian)

Sum : $uš_{11}$ "spittle, saliva ; poison" ; the meaning "poison" is in AHw, Heimpel (1968 : 214, 467)

U data from B-C. Onomatop. ?

pole / post / prop

Dr : Ta matalai "prop, post, cornices on sides or front of house" ; Ko madl "lintel of doorway" (DEDR 4689, for these two languages only)

Sum : ma-da-al, ma-ad-la, ma-ad-lu "Pfahl, Stange" (AHw 283, 589).

For the final sounds in Dravidian, cf. the word kalappai for "plough" above.

pure

a) Dr : oṭ- "clear, pure, bright ; attractive, beautiful ; purify, refine, cleanse" in Te, Kol, Kui, Kuwi

Sum : ud, also ḫud = Akk. *ellu* "1. clean, pure ; 2. holy, sacred ; 3. free, noble" (CAD), "pure" (AHw 204 ; see also AHw 1086)

b) Nos : A : OT silig "rein" (von Gabain)

SC : NC : Hurrian šeḫali "pure" ; "L'emprunt au sum. sikil, conjecture par von Brandenstein, AfO 13, 58, n'est pas impossible" (Laroche 1979 : 222)

Sum : sikil "rein".

Valid isogloss with metathesis ? or chance analogy ?

to put on

Nos : **çuma "shawl (worn esp. when carrying loads on the head or shoulder)" (Hegedűs 1990), based on AA : Se *şamm- "veil, shawl" ; ? K *cw-am- / cw-m "to put on" ; U *śuma "kerchief, small shawl, cap" ; Dr *cum- "to carry on the head ; pad for carrying load on the head or shoulder"

Sum : sum "anlegen (Schmuck)" (AHw 707) ; sumu "flach hingelegt" (AHw 526)

Not very convincing.

reflexive morpheme

Nos : 1) verbal affix **-nV for the middle / reflexive voice (Illič-Svityč&, vol. I : 13) ; 2) **?onV̄ , or perhaps with a retroflex, coronal ɳ "self", "the same" (Dolgopolsky 1984 : 91)

Sum : nĺ "self", "selbst".

See details in SGE. See also n° 89 "I".

to rise (of a celestial body)

Dr : Kol kuri- "to start, protrude from hole, come forth, (sun) rises, etc." ; Nk kur- "to come out, emerge, (sun) rises" (DEDR 1820, with only these two languages ; the forms come from *kur≠-)

Sum : kur "aufglänzen, Aufgang (von Sonne und Mond)" (Deimel), "aufgehen (Sonne usw.), das Aufgehen" (Borger), "briller, apparaître, flamboiement, lever d'un astre" (Labat) ; "aufgehen" (AHw 732). But note that under Akk *napāhu* CAD gives "1. to blow (something), to hiss ; 2. to light a fire [...] ; 3. (in the stative) to be bloated, swollen, blown up ; 4. to become visible, to rise, to glow (said of stars, moon, sun, etc.)", so that the original meaning may be other than "to rise".

room

AA : WCh *hamV "inner room" (Stolbova 1987 : 229, n° 774), based on Hausa hàmàgo "house for guests" and Bokkos àhom "room"

Sum : ama "Gemach von Menschen und Göttern ; Zelle (Menschen und Götter)" (AHw 630), "Kultraum weibl. Gottheiten" (Krecher 1966 : 111) ; $am_{4,5}$ "Frauen-Wohnraum ; Kultraum weibl. Gootheiten" (Krecher 1966 : 110)

root / sinew / vein / gut / cord

a) SC : **cir-VC- "root" (Bc 107)

AA : WCh *carakV "vein, tendon, sinew ; rope" (Stolbova 1987 : 183, n° 348), based on Hausa, Sura, Karekare, Mburku, Siri ; the first vowel is usually a, but sometimes i, as in Siri cira "rope" ; see also ibid. p. 200, n° 512 ĉurV "rope"

Sum : zĺr "rope, cord" (see below)

Comp. between SC and Sum by Bengtson, WCh data from Boisson. But zĺr "rope, cord" is a very tricky word, and I can't find it. Gordon (1958) says that the compound ur-E/S̄ was read ur-zĺr by Deimel and by Landsberger. "The meaning of the alleged "ur-zĺr" was taken to be "rope-dog, dog on a leash", although this interpretation has since been challenged by both Kramer and Van Dijk". In any case, the reading zi-ir for E/S̄ is debatable ; gi-ir is suggested by Landsberger. Gordon suggests that E/S̄ could be read ger_x or $eger_x$ = "prince", so that $ur\text{-}ger_x$ would be "noble beast", "princely beast", parallel to ur-mah 5 "lion" (literally "supreme / huge beast"), ur-bar-ra "wolf" ("stranger (?) / strange beast").

However, there would be a word sĺr "anbinden" ("to tie to") = Akk *sanāpu / sanābu* according to AHw (1020), though not according to CAD.

b) Nos : **son/H/w (M 341), based on IE, A, U, plus AA : Angas *sin "root" (Blažek p. c. to Bengtson)

SC : **seNH- "sinew / vein" (Be 55), based on Ba zain, zaiñ, zein "vein, nerve, root", NC *s̄emhIV "sinew, muscle, intestine" (N-S), ST : TB *r-sa "vein, sinew, root"

Sum : sa "sinew, rope"

Comp. by Bengtson. Boisson had independently compared Nos and Sum, but rejected it because of the shortness of the Sum form.

See also n° 73 "guts" and "thread".

ruin

Dr : *ar≠-i "to be ruined, to destroy" (not in Ndr), as in Ta ar≠i and various derived forms "to perish, be ruined, decay [..], to destroy, spend, ruin, damage, efface, bring to a close ; ruin destruction" ; Ka ar≠i "to be ruined, be destroyed [...], to ruin, to destroy [...] ; ruin, waste, damage, loss" ; Go arih- "to destroy" and many other words (DEDR 277)

Sum : ár = Akk *karmu* "ruin, ruin-heap" (CAD), "Wüsterei, Ruine" (Deimel), "Ödland(-Hügel)" (AHw) ; ár-àr-ra (same translation as in AHw in Krecher 1966 : 160), "ruine, dévastation" (Labat)

to scatter

Dr : Kur cāxsna "to sow, to scatter seed" ; Malto cáge "to divide, scatter, sow" (DEDR 2431, only for these two languages)
Sum : ság "to disperse, to scatter, to disband"

self / one's own folks
IE : a) *swe- "self ; apart, alone, by itself, of itself" (Mann : 1341) ; used independently or as a first element in compound kinship terms, such as swekrūs "mother-in-law", swekuros "father-in-law", swelos "close relative", swesōr "sister", swesriyos "kinsman on female side", so that it also refers to a social unit, "le groupe des siens" (see Benveniste 1969, vol. I : 329-333, Watkins 1989).
IE : b) *su- "to give birth to", in *su-yu-, *su-nu "son"
K : *šw- "to give birth" (Klimov 1964 : 214-215)
? U : FU : Mari šəwä "descendents" (I-S, M : 361)
AA : NOm : Kafa šī "to generate, bear, beget", šu'-o "placenta", Mocha šûwi "to engender", Anfillo šuy, Shinasa šo', Wombera šuw, Male šo' (Fleming) ; with prefix m- perhaps Eg ms "Kind, nachkomme", Coptic mes "son" ; Berber : Zaiou ist, pl. siwet- "daughter", Shawiya Īss id., Qabyle sut id., etc. (Militarëv, Vestnik drevnej istorii (1984) : 159)
Sum : su = Akk *nīšūtu* "1. family, relatives (by consanguinity or by marriage), 2. people" (CAD), "Blutverwandschaft, Sippe" (AHw), "Familie, Nachkommenschaft" (Deimel n° 7.17)
Additional data for K, U, AA from B-C.

See also the entry for the "reflexive morpheme".

shaggy / tuft of hair
Dr : *kuccu "tuft of hair, tassel, bunch, cluster, brush, hair-knot, mane, genitals..." (SDr and CDr only : Ta, Ma, To, Ka, Tu, Te, Go, Kui) (DEDR 1639)
Sum : guz "shaggy" in tug$_2$-bardul$_5$-guz-za "shaggy *bardul*-garment" (PSD 120) ; guz = Akk *apparrû* "having wiry (?) hair (CAD) ; guz "mit zottigem Haar" AHw sub *apparû* ; gu-uz = appar-ru-u, apparrītu "'Haarsträhne' [CB : "strand of hair"] oder ähnlich zu lesen" (Landsberger 1934) ; guz-guz-ù "ist guz-guz-u zottig (A. L. Oppenheim AOS 32, a1) zu lesen ?" (Heimpel 1968 : 118)

sheep
AA : *HVdaw / *HVday
Dr : *ya_ṭu (DEDR 5152, for all branches of Dr)

U : Proto-Finno-Ugric *učе "sheep" (UEW : 541), e.g. Finnish uti, utu, etc. "Mutterschaf" ; Estonian utt ; Mordvin učа, etc. According to Dolgopolsky (quoted by Blažek, p. c.), the PFU form could perhaps be related to Proto-Berber, and go back to Nos **ʕučV. But there may be problems (Blažek, p. c.).
Achaemenid Elamite : hidu (Hinz & Koch 1987)
Sum : udu
Comp. between AA and Sum in Militarëv 1984, the rest from Boisson "Caprines and antelopes" ; a Wanderwort ?

sheep / lamb
Nos : **kOři "lamb, sheep" (O 173) ; note that Orël & Stolbova (1988 : 76, n° 35 and 79, n° 72) give two Se etyma : a) Se *karr- "lamb", comp. withWCh *kar- "sheep" ; b) Se *kirr- "sheep", comp. with WCh *kir- "male sheep"
Sum : kir$_x$ "she-lamb", "agnelle"
See Boisson "Caprines and antelopes" for other details ; Sum probably borrowed from AA

shoot
Dr : *muḷ- "to sprout, shoot forth" (all branches of Dr), as in Ta muḷai "to spring [...], sprout as shoots, germinate as seeds ; shoot, sprout, seedling" ; Go moṛiyāna "to sprout" ; Kuwi mṛogla "shoot of bamboo" ; Kui mūi-muīrna "to germinate, either in soil or spontaneously" (DEDR 4997)
Sum : mul = Akk *papallu* "Schössling, Zweig" (AHw 823 ; Heimpel 1968 : 84, Sjöberg 1973 : 24)

See "thorn / needle / arrow".

shoulder
a) IE : *om(e)so-s "shoulder"
A : *omurg- "front part of the shoulder" (Dybo 1989a : 200, n° 23 ; 205, n° 13) ; *möịre "shoulder" (ibid.)
Sum : mur$_7$, mur$_8$ "shoulder" ; mur$_7$-gú "back, shoulder" = Akk *būdu* "shoulder, region between the shoulders including the neck" ; murgu "back, shoulder", "Rückgrät, Schiffskiel" (Deimel 567, 4), "spine, back" (Kramer 1949 : 215), "back" (Klein 1981 : 78-79, 196-197) ; see also Landsberger in Foxvog & Kilmer 1975
Trombetti (Less.) compared IE and A, as B-C informs me.

b) IE : *māry- : Gr μηρία, μηρίος, O Corn mordoit "femur vel coxa", OHG muriot "Schenkel", Longobard murioth "Oberarm" (Schreder & Nehring I : 637)
AA : ECu : Baiso margi "neck" (Bender) ; NOm : Wolaita muorgē "spalla" (Cerulli, RSO 12 (1929) : 33). The other ECu languages use similar roots for "neck" : Somali marmar "nape of neck", Burji marmar(-i) "neck", Oromo morm-a "neck", all from ECu *mar- "round" (Sasse 1979 : 24)
U : *mərə "Oberarm (UEW 295-296) ; Samoyed *mərka "shoulder" (Dybo 1989a, after Janhunen)
Dr : *mur≠i-mpu "shoulder" (after Dybo ; see DEDR 5122)
Sum : mur_7, mur_8 "shoulder" ; mur_7-gú "back, shoulder" ; murgu "back, shoulder, spine" (see above, section a)

Rough comp. between A, Dr, Sum by Boisson ; comp. between IE, A, U, Dr in Dybo 1989a ; new data from B-C (IE root b), plus AA data in section b)). Note that mur_7-gú and murgu might be compounds with gú "neck". Distinction between sections a) and b) from B-C, who favours comp. b).

to shout

a) Dr : *ār- (not NDr) "to shout", many words, as in Ta ār- "to shout, roar, bellow" ; Kod ara- "to make loud hoarse noise, moo" ; Ga arg- "to bellow" (DEDR 367)
IE : *ar-, as in *arō "to utter, speak, give voice", and *arwō "to cry, utter, consecrate, curse" (Mann : 35, 37)
Sum : ara_9 "to howl" (Gordon 1959), said of dogs or slaves in proverbs.
Onomatopoeia ?

b) Dr : a) *mur-al- "to shout", with numerous words in all Dr branches, meaning "to make sound, cry, growl, hum, weep, lament, etc.", cf. Skt muralī "flute" (DEDR 4973) ; b) mur≠- "to roar, resound, sound, speak" in Ta, Ko, To, Ka, Kod, Te, Nk, Konda
IE : *murmur- "to murmur, mutter, grumble, growl" (Mann : 819)
U : Finno-Ugric *mura "to cry, to sing" (UEW : 287-288)
SC : Ye : Ket mor-äj "knirschen" (Bouda, Orbis 19 (1970) : 127, who compares Ket and FU)
Sum : mur "shouting, cry, voice" (AHw)
Additional SC data from B-C. This is very probably a case of independent onomatopoeia.

side

Dr : To par par "side by side" ; Kod para "side" (DEDR 3984, no other language)
AA : *bar- "thigh" (Blažek's paper on Omotic and AA, n° 97)
Sum : bar "outside, side, back, edge, exterior, outer covering, outer form, body, skin, fleece" (PSD)
AA data from B-C, who points out that Trombetti (Elementi) had compared ECu, Nuba (Kanuzi, Dongola : beri "lato, fianco, costola") and Sum.
See also n° 156 "skin".

to sing

AA : *sVy/wVr "to sing"
Sum : sìr, šìr "to sing, song"
Comp. by Militarëv, who suggests Sum might be a loan from AA. Note that there is also šur = Akk *zamāru* (CAD)

slave, servant / enemy / army

SC : NC *ʔIwə̆rʔV "troops", ST *raH "troop ; enemy", Y *har- "slave, servant" (Starostin 1984, n° 7.1)
Sum : ìr "slave". But see Grégoire (1976 : 74) : "Les esclaves, le plus souvent des captifs de guerre, n'apparaissent que rarement dans les listes de personnels de la maisonnée royale. Parmi les couches sociales non libres, les esclaves sont à distinguer des "serviteurs" (ir_{11}, ĝemé), apparemment liés à vie à leurs maîtres ; l'existence de serviteurs héréditaires n'est d'ailleurs pas à exclure". Other terms for "servant, (slave ?)" are subar, subur, úrda, urdu(-d) (see Krecher 1988 for the latter).
Sum : érin, éren "army, troop ; group ; worker ; soldier" ; erim, erem "army, troop ; warrior, soldier" ; érim "enemy, wicked".
All this is very vague, and probably a chance similarity (cf. Germanic *harjo- "army" > German Heer !).

to spin / to twine

a) Dr : *caraṭu "twisted thread, twine, cord, rope", in Ta, Ma, Ko, Te, Kol (DEDR 2356)
Sum : zar, $zara_5$ "to spin (= make thread), to twine"

b) Dr : 1) *cur- "to roll up, coil, make revolve", in all branches of Dr (DEDR 2684) ; 2) *curru- "to revolve", except in NDr, with numerous words meaning "to revolve, spin, be coiled ; to roll up, coil, spool, wind, twine (rope) ; a loop, a coil" (DEDR 2715) ; 3) *cur≠- "to whorl, to revolve", in all branches of Dr (DEDR 2698)
Sum : sur "to spin (= to make thread), to roll up, to twine".

to spread

Dr : *pār- "to spread" (Krishnamurti 1961 : 426 ; see the words in DEDR 4088, not in NDr)

Sum : baraʒ "to spread out, to strew (beer ingredients, bedding, nets, other)" (PSD) ; "ausbreiten" (Deimel).

to spread / to cover

Nos : **bŭri "to cover" (O 26)

Sum : búr "1. to spread ; 2. to spread out, over ; to cover (said of garments, cloth)" (PSD) ; "The basic meaning is perhaps "to spread out (said of a garment)" (Thomsen 1984 : 297)

stem / handle / branch / root

Nos : **/p/ăsV "root" : K *pasw- "root" (O 363), based on "A *P/ă/sV "trunk, stem, handle", with attestations in Mo (from *ϕesi) and in Tungusic (e. g. Mandju făsin, făsăn, făs&ăn "handle", etc.) ; I-S also quotes as possible evidence rather obscure data from Dr : *vaca "a type of edible root" < *pɪaca (DEDR 5213).

Sum : pes& = Akk *āru* . The Sum term is a very difficult word. It is glossed "Stengel, Stiel, Zweig" (= "stalk, stem, stick ; handle ; branch, bough, twig") in AHw 71, and see also 823 and 1108 for compounds. But CAD gives "frond, leaf of the date palm". Landsberger (in MSL 1 (1937) : 210) gives two glosses : a) peš = *āru* "1. Palmwedel; 2. Palmfaser ; Fruchtstengel", and b) peš = Akk *ḫusābu* , which CAD translates as "a cut off piece of wood : twig, lumber, timber, part of a chariot, cuttings of an aromatic substance, part of a product of the palm tree, stem of the frond used as a pole, piece of wood".

Obviously, the Sum uncertainties make that word a not very trustworthy piece of evidence.

stick

AA : WCh ʒaba[I]V "stick" (Stolbova 1987 ; 188 : n° 384), based on Hausa, Karekare, Tangale, Kariya, Tsagu, Bokkos

Sum : zabar "Stock, Waffe" (AHw 422)

to strike / a cudgel

IE : *tud-, *tund- "to strike" (Mann: 1450, 1457)

Dr : a) *tuṭṭu "stick" > Ta tuṭṭu-kkaṭṭai, tuṭṭu-ttaṭi "short club", Ka doḍḍe "the bat used at tipcat", Telugu duḍḍu "a stout stick, club, cudgel", Go duḍu "stick", Konda duḍḍu "stout stick", Kui ḍūṛa "stick, staff, rod", Kuwi duḍu "carrying-stick" (DEDR 3304, not in NDr) ; b) Kondi doṇ "big club", with similar forms in Ka, Kod, Tu (DEDR 3502).

Sum : túd "to hit, to beat ; to spank, to cane ; stick, cudgel" (Thomsen 1984 ; PSD : 164 ; AHw 799 ; Kramer 1949 : 29)

strong

a) IE : a) *gʰal- "hard, strong, able ; hardness, strength" (Mann : 311) ; b) *kaletos "firm, hard ; man, hero" (Mann : 465)

Dr : Ta kali "strength, force", kaliyaṇ "warrior" ; Ka kali "man noted for valour and prowess, warrior, hero", kalitana "valour, heroism" ; Te kalitanamu "bravery" ; cf. Skt kali- "hero" (DEDR 1308, with these three languages only)

Sum : kal, kala, kalag "strong, strength, to be strong, to be vigorous".

b) SC : **c'aq' (Be 113 ; cf. Starostin 1984, n° 11.14 : EC "strength, power", ST "hard, difficult", Y "hard, tight"). Bengtson also quotes Ba zakhar(r) / zakar(r) "strong, violent, coarse"

Sum : zag "power, might, strength"

Comp. by Bengtson.

swamp

AA : Se : Akk agammu, Hebrew ʾagam, Aramaic ʾagmā "swamp", Arabic ʾağamat "fourré, repaire, marais où croissent des joncs", Arabic ʾağama "to stagnate (water)", Hebrew ʾagmōn "reed" (D. Cohen : 7)

Dr : Ko āk "swamp", āk(k) kāṛ "swampy land", Kod āka "biggest flat land of a man's holdings" (DEDR 336, with these two languages only)

Sum : agam "swamp"

The Se / Sum similarity is probably due to borrowing.

thorn / needle / arrow

Dr : *muḷ- "thorn" (not in NDr), as in Ta muḷ "thorn, brier, thistle, anything sharp [...], goad, spur" ; Te mulu, mullu "thorn, prick, prickle [...], needle, spur", miliki "arrow" ; Kuwi mullu "needle" (DEDR 4995)

Sum : mul "arrow" (CAD, AHw, Heimpel 1968 : 86)

See "shoot".

thread

a) Dr : *kō- "to string, thread", as in Ta kō, kōr "to string (as beads, flowers), insert, thread (as a needle), arrange, reduce to

order" ; Ko kōv-, kōt- "to string, thread" ; Kol kōnz- "to string, thread" ; Pa kōp "to string" (DEDR 2176)
Sum : gu "thread ; yarn ; flax" (Gordon 1959), "Hanf, Faden, Schnur" (Deimel, Borger), "fil" (Labat). Lieberman (1977 : 268-269, n° 247) has go "filament"

b) Dr : Te mōku "a thick or stout rope, cable", Konda mōko "rope" (DEDR 5129 for these two languages only)
Sum : mug = a) Akk *qū* "1. flax ; 2. thread, string" (CAD), "Faden" (Deimel), "fil, cordon" (Labat n° 3) ; b) Akk *mukku / muqqu* [borrowed from Sum] "1. (a poor quality of wool), ; 2. (a garment made from a poor quality of wool)" (CAD), "Wollabfall, Werg" (AHw 670), ""Werg (verfilzte Wolle, die nicht gesponnen werden kann)" (Bauer 1967 : 356), "étoupe" (Labat n° 3).

See also n° 73 "guts", and "root / sinew / vein / gut / cord".

tin
IE : Arm anag ; Skt nāga-
AA : Se : Akk a(n)naku, as well as Hebrew, Aramaic, Geez words ; Eg : Coptic anok (D. Cohen : 25)
U : ObUgric : Mansi N nānèχ "Blei", LO ànàχ-àtwàs "Zinn" (ātwàs "Blei") (Joki 1973 : 250, n° 7 ; FUF 40 (1973) : 65)
Nivkh : ŋjangal (Glehn), -ńagol' (Lebedev), neńŋal (Schrenk) "lead" (Tailleur, Lingua 9 (1960) : 132). For another interpretation, see Austerlitz (1984).
Sum : an-na, nag-(g)a, nig-(g)i "tin, lead ; iron"
A Wanderwort. According to Diakonoff (1985 : 598-599), Arm anag < Hurrian *anagi < Akk anaku < Sum an-na. "It is not impossible that both Sumerian nag-(g)a and Skt nāga- might be borrowings from the same common source (the language of the Harappa-culture ?), and that only an-(n)a is genuine Sumerian". Data from Diakonoff 1985, and from B-C (U, Nivkh). B-C also gives interesting East Asiatic words for "silver", among which : ST *(d)-ŋul, Proto-Miao-Yao *ńaan / ń[ua]n, Proto-Thai *ŋə(ə)n (Benedict 1972 : 15, 173 ; Benedict, JAOS (1976) : 171), Tokharian A nkiñc, B ñkante "argent" < Archaic Chinese (Van Windekens 1976 : 634).

top / skull / brain
a) Nos : **m[u]gV "head, top" : Dr *mōk- "above, top" (DEDR 5128, not in NDr ; Konda musku "topmost part, upper side of something") ; AA : ECu : Burji múga "head" (Sasse 1987 : 148), Tsamai muga'te "head" (Bender)

Sum : múḫ "top, skull" (AHw 667, 668)
Very doubtful comp.

b) Nos : **mVCKV "brain" : AA : ECu : Proto-Sam *misqaḥ "brain" (Heine 1978 : 91 ; Lamberti 1986 : 338) ; SOm : Ari Jinka maktsa "brain"
IE : *mozgʰo- "brain"
?? Dr : Konda musku "above, upon, on" (in DEDR 5128)
Sum : múḫ "top, skull" (AHw 667, 668)
Very doubtful comp.

c) AA : Se : *muḫḫ- > Akk muḫḫu "Oberseite, Schädel" (> Sum ?), Eblaite mu-ḫu-um, Hebrew mō(a)ḥ, Ugaritic mḥ "marrow, brain", Arabic muḫḫ id., etc. ; cf. also Punic mḥ "fat" (Krebernik ZA 73 (1983) : 12, n° 266c ; Segert 1984 : 192 ; Holma 1911 : 12)
? NC : *maʃū "marrow" (Starostin & Nikolaev)
Sum : múḫ "top, skull" (AHw 667, 668)

Sum word from Boisson, all the rest from B-DA 5, B-C. Distinction between roots a, b, c from B-C. Note that Sum does not end in -g or -z, so that the best equation is c), whereby Sum might be interpreted as a loan from AA.

to touch
Nos : **tăkV (M 369) = **t[ʰ]ak'- / **t[ʰ]ek'- (Bm 89)
SC : **t(h)ok (S 175)
Sum : tag "to touch ; to seize ; to strike" (Thomsen, AHw, Falkenstein)
Independent comp. between Nos and Sum by Boisson, Bomhard ; SC data added by Boisson.
See also below "to weave".

tuft of hair / matted
Dr : *kuccu (not in NDr) giving words meaning "tuft of hair, hair-knot ; mane ; tassel, brush, bunch, cluster ; genitals, etc." in Ta, Ma, To, Ka, Tu, Te, Go, Kui (DEDR 1639)
Sum : guz "mit zottigem Haar" (AHw 59) ; guz-guz-ù "zottig" (Heimpel 1968 : 118) ; guz-za "matted" (PSD 120)

to watch
IE : *wor- "to watch, guard" (Mann : 1576)
AA : Se : Hebrew yārāh "sehen lassen", Arabic warwara "regarder fixement dans la direction de", warī' "timidus" (Cuny 1946 :

170 ; Brunner 1969 : 135, n° 769 ; Eg warḫ "to guard, protect", wrš "to watch, observe" (Bomhard 1984 : 269, who compares Eg and IE)
U : Ugric *warɜ- "hüten, warten" (UEW 898)
Sum : ùru "to watch, guard, protect"
AA and U data from B-C.

to weave
IE *tek- "to weave"
TB : *tak (Benedict 1972 : 19), but Benedict posits *tak < *trak, an "Austro-Thai" loanword
Sum : tag "to weave", probably from tag "to touch ; to seize ; to strike"
There is a parallel for the Sum semantic shifting in some Slavic words where "prick, stab, hit" > "weave" (Buck 1949 : 410). Nevertheless this isogloss is very suspicious. IE data from B-C, who points out that IE and ST were compared in Shafer (Eurasial, Orbis 12 (1943) : 43, n° 64)

See also above "to touch".

word / fame
A : OT kü, kül "fame"
IE : a) *gowə- / gū- "to sound" (Pokorny 403) ; b) *ǵʷʰəw- "to call, shout", etc. (Mann)
ST *gaw- "to call" (Shafer, Eurasial, Orbis 12 (1943) : 32, n° 30, who compares ST with IE *gowə- / gū-
Sum : gù "Stimme, Wort, Geschrei, Ruf, heulen, schreien, antworten, befehlen, rufen, sagen"
Comp. between A and Sum by de Grolier. Additional ST and IE data from B-C. The semantic connection is unproblematical, given well-attested parallels.

to wrap / cover / put on clothes
IE : a) *toul- "wind, twist, wrap, cover" (Mann : 1418) ; b) *tŭl- "wrap, envelop, muffle", in Gk, Ossetic, Arm, Lithuanian (Mann : 1454)
Sum : dul, dul$_5$ "to cover, to put on clothes"
Bm 129 compares Sum and IE, plus AA forms, but the latter mean "darkness" rather than "cover" (cf. Bomhard 1984, n° 88), so I think it safer to reject them.

young
Nos : **ńaʕrV "young, newborn" (O 318)

Sum : nar = Akk ? *batūlu* , ? *batultu* "young (man, girl) ?" (Labat, cf. Landsberger 1929). But CAD does not give Sum nar as the equivalent of the Akk words.
The Sum word is doubtful.

NOTES

1 I am indebted to many of the linguists whose names are mentioned below, as well as to Václav Blažek, Igor Diakonoff, Jean-Marie Durand, Dietz Otto Edzard, Nikita Gurov, André Haudricourt, Irén Hegedűs, Blahoslav Hruška, V. N. Shnirelman, for information of all kinds, but I must emphasize very strongly that I take sole responsibility for the contents of this paper.

2 It is more or less the expanded Swadesh list. One may compare it with the "Culturally and Linguistically Meaningful for Southeast Asia Lexicostatistical List" in Matisoff (1978 : 134-137, 283-300). Hodge (1987) compiled a still larger core vocabulary of 310 items for the study of Afroasiatic. The basic list of 100 words is probably too restricted for studies involving great time-depths. In my 224-word list, words belonging to Swadesh's 100-items list is marked by an asterisk after the number. I have not been too puritanical in ascribing words to a given notion, partly because of unavoidable semantic shifts, partly because I am not computing glottochronological estimates. And even if I were, I think that Greenberg, Matisoff, and Starostin are correct in rejecting Swadesh's strict insistance on comparing only the most common words, since this would preclude our setting side by side, say, German "Hund" and English "hound", simply because English replaced it with "dog" to express caninity ; the same problem is encountered with the most common word for "dog" in present-day Chinese, gǒu, while it is the older and now less common quǎn that can be related to Sino-Tibetan cognates, as Norman (1988) points out.

3 Bomhard has more than what I quote here, but I wanted to err on the safe side.

4 I have included all of Militarëv's comparisons.

5 In nearly all cases the problems were the following : a) the Sumerian data were not checked carefully, and outdated sources were resorted to ; b) at times there was a confusion between the conventional Assyriological name of the cuneiform sign and the reading of the sign ; c) g and g̃ were confused (see Krecher (1978) and the list of words in g̃ in Ellermeier (1979)) ; d) far-fetched semantic developments were assumed ; e) until recently, there was a widespread lack of understanding of the difference between typological similarities and genetic similarities (this has been considerably clarified by the work of Greenberg and his followers since the sixties). Interestingly, the same type of problems may appear in other fields, such as comparative metrology. For instance Berriman (1958) had tried to show that the presence of the Mesopotamian weight standard *mina* could be traced in Han China. But, as Powell (1979) convincingly retorted, the average weight of a manageable load, the average size of arms, forearms, legs, hands and feet, do not vary considerably among various populations, so that independent creation of standards is just as likely as borrowing (or genetic connection for that matter).

6 I have not included a small number of Nilo-Saharan / Nostratic isoglosses from my "Conjecture" ("ashes/dust", "male", "sweet/honey", "thorn"), because they would be irrelevant to Sumerian.

7 In the first stages of investigation, where the most we can hope for is to draft a sort of rough copy, the method of "mass comparison" (Greenberg) is in no way objectionable. It may allow to prove that languages or language families are related even before it is possible to establish accurate phonetic correspondances, which is normally a *second* stage (as rightly pointed out by Ruhlen in various publications, and in Chaker 1989). Furthermore, in the first stages, it is a hard job to distinguish between loanwords and putative cognates (see what happened with the classification of Armenian within Indo-European, because of Indo-Iranian loans and of the fact that the proportion of primitive Indo-European is only 10 % in that language).

8 Certainly not between Sumerian and Indo-European, for instance, as Autran's book (1925) would lead us to believe. Autran did perform a careful investigation, but a large part of his book is inevitably outdated. Nevertheless dyadic comparisons prove to be useful in their own right, as is shown for instance by Blažek on Afroasiatic / Dravidian, Hodge and Bomhard on Afroasiatic / Indo-European, Collinder on Uralic / Indo-European, Menges on Dravidian / Altaic, Sauvageot on Uralic / Altaic, Emeneau and Tyler on Uralic / Dravidian, to name only the most recent researches. Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky availed themselves of such restricted studies.

9 Which certainly ought not to be underestimated. Bored by the same old handbook examples of the English*bad* / Persian*bad* type, I have assembled for my amusement and edification a longish list of chance parallels that may serve as a warning to any over-optimistic long-range comparatist. Many of them are polysyllabic pairs with very nice phonetic and semantic matching. But I must admit that one does not accumulate many such pairs between any two languages chosen at random.

10 Many Assyriologists think that the Sumerians entered Mesopotamia from the east in the 4th millennium. The Sumerians themselves had some obscure tradition that they came from the sea (see Bottéro & Kramer 1989 : 198-202). This is all very hazy (but see below). Furthermore, it must be pointed out that some of the arguments are more suggestive than authoritative, as when Gelb states that since Sumerian is an agglutinating language like Turkic or Mongolian, then it must come from inner Asia. In any case, any "areal" influence on Sumerian has got to be basically Nostratic or Sino-Caucasian, which, to be sure, is not to say much.

11 Partly because, according to Starostin (1989), the Proto-Afroasiatic split could perhaps be dated somewhere around the 10-11th millennium B.C., while Proto-Nostratic could have split in the 10-12th millennium (previous estimations were earlier by several millennia). Proto-Afroasiatic would go back to the 12-15th millennium according to Hodge (1984 : 414). The linguists who exclude Afroasiatic from Nostratic *lato sensu* do not deny that the two are related. Dolgopolsky retains the standard Nostratic hypothesis, as he does not trust the glottochronological technique, even with the alterations brought about by Starostin. In any case, the pronominal system of Afroasiatic seems to be rather different from that of the other Nostratic families. As for the breakup of some individual families of Nostratic, that of Proto-Indo-European is place at the 5th millennium, and that of Dravidian during the 4th millennium (Zvelebil 1972 ; Bongard-Levin & Gurov 188 : 67). "The Dravidians were a highlander folk, sitting, sometimes round 4000 B.C., in the rugged mountains of North Eastern Iran (where they came into an extended contact with the speakers of Uralian / Altaic languages), whence, about 3500 B.C., they began a South Eastern movement into the subcontinent which went on for about two and a half millennia" (Zvelebil, ibid.).

12 McAlpin 1981. McAlpin has been severely criticzed by specialists of Elamite (e. g. in Vallat's brief 1982 review).

13 On the latter two see Mudrak & Nikolaev (1989).

14 Starostin 1984, already adumbrated in Starostin 1982. According to Starostin, Sino-Caucasian proper may have split in the 8-9th millennia B. C., Proto-North Caucasian and Proto-Sino-Tibetan in the 4th to 6th millennia B. C., and Proto-Yeniseian in the 1st millennium B. C.

15 Hatti is perhaps also a member of North Caucasian, according to V. V. Ivanov.

16 I have also included much of my "Comments..." on Bengtson (Boisson 1990). Much of the criticism levelled at Bengtson's comparison would also apply to my own parallels.

17 Indeed the short entry "Sumerian" in the Polish encyclopedia *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN* suggests that the possibility of a relationship between Sumerian and Sino-Tibetan could perhaps be entertained. There is no reference to the source of this statement.

18 I am grateful to the Assyriologist Dietz Otto Edzard for this information.

19 I use "conjecture" as a stronger term than "intuition" and a slightly weaker term than "hypothesis", which in its turn is weaker than "model". A conjecture is based on reasonable, but very restricted and vague, evidence, but it is more difficult to test than a hypothesis. Once a hypothesis has been proved to the satisfaction of virtually everybody (such as the existence of the Indo-European family), various detailed "models" can compete for adoption, such as the glottalic model vs. other models in the case of Indo-European phonology.

20 Such a huge complex would perhaps deserve the name of "Eurasiatic" even more than Greenberg's super-phylum. But note also that there would seem to be some isoglosses between Sino-Caucasian and "Austric", a hypothetical super-family including Austroasiatic, Miao-Yao, Tai-Kadai, and Austronesian (see Pejros 1989).

21 Here we would be confronted with at least 5 different possibilities.

22 Greenberg pointed out that it may be possible to prove that languages form a family, while the problems of subgrouping within the family remain hard to solve for a long time, as shown by the case of Austronesian. Also, one must always remember that "the history of comparative linguistics shows that larger, more comprehensive comparisons often precede the careful working out of lower-level relationships" (Norman 1988 : 16). This is contrary to the scholarly legend that one must always work one's way "up" the genealogical tree, as was supposedly done by all serious linguists.

23 Pejros and Starostin have assembled a dictionary of over 1800 Sino-Tibetan etyma, still unpublished. Who knows what results could be obtained through a systematic comparison of these with Sumerian ? Their published Sino-Caucasian proto-forms is also a selection of their material, which would seem to exceed 500 forms. All I can say for the time being is that, looking through the published data on Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan, and Sino-Caucasian

(in Benedict, Matisoff, and Starostin), I found considerably fewer similarities with Sumerian than between Sumerian and Nostratic languages.

24 True, it is only through regular correspondences that cognacy can be *proved* , because "often forms which look very much alike are not true cognates at all. Conversely, true cognates [...] may have no superficial phonological resemblance to each other whatsoever. Everybody knows the thrilling example of Latin duo and Armenian erku 'two' - perfect cognates ! Or Lahu ŝ and Burmese lê 'four'" (Matisoff 1978 : 95). Thrilling examples they are indeed, but, as Dolgopolsky once pointed out at a conference, the same hoary erku is always bandied about in triumph, although it is really an exceptional beast (we must all be grateful to Matisoff for providing a companion monster, which hopefully might save future handbook writers from tedious repetition). Besides, one must realize that "phonological rules are made on the basis of cognate sets ; cognates in turn are in large measure accepted or rejected on the basis of how well they adhere to the rules of phonological correspondence" (Norman 1988 : 13).

25 On experimental evidence for the existence of some universal tendencies in phonetic symbolism, see for instance Peterfalvi 1971.

26 Cases of probable Wanderwörter were deliberately included. But the cases of strictly Sumerian / Akkadian exchanges were naturally excluded : for Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian see Lieberman 1977 (see also D. Cohen 1970, 1976), and for Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian see the individual entries in Gelb 1957

27 But not IE pelekus "axe", which was formerly related to Sumerian (even as recently as in Sergent 1987 : 586). This is doubtful because Sumerian balag (= Akkadian *balaggu*) refers to a musical instrument, while Sumerian bal (= Akkadian *pilakku*) is a "spindle" (which can be made of wood, actually).

28 Igor Diakonoff (p.c.).

29 See Wilcke 1972.

30 See Hawkins 1980.

31 Some of these names are taken from Deimel 1914.

32 On the name Inanna, see Gelb 1960a, Kramer 1960. Although the standard interpretation is Inanna < *Nin-anna "the Lady of the sky", I am still wondering what the argument is for this disappearance of the word-initial n-, unless one can cite parallel cases. Another hypothesis is Inanna < É.anna "temple in the sky", but in that case, where does the first n come from ?

33 Note bí-za, bí-za-za, bi-za-za "frog". Could bi mean "swamp" ?

34 That god is mentioned in Bottéro & Kramer 1989 : 61, 112, 113, 114, 174, 186.

35 In Marshallese denominal verbs are also formed in this way : jiwij "shoes" --> jiwijwij "to wear shoes". Whether verbal reduplication in Tojolabal is final is much less clear from the examples mentioned in Nida (1949 : 70).

36 Because Sumerian etymologies cannot be found for them. But are we really in a position to etymologize Sumerian as easily as some Assyriologists suppose ? This would only be feasible if we could perform far-reaching internal reconstruction, which is far from being the case.

37 Mentioned in Reiner 1969 : 61.

38 Deimel 1914, n° 235

39 The reader may think that nothing at all is settled in Sumerian phonology, but we may know more on the stop system than some pessimistic specialists think. The best solution seems to be an aspiration, or a fortis / lenis, contrast, rather than the traditional voicing contrast, against which there are both Assyriological and typological arguments (see Gelb 1961 ; Diakonoff 1967 ; Parpola 1975 ; Boisson "Contraintes typologiques [...]"). Besides, as will be seen here here, a couple of probable borrowings by various languages from Sumerian (see words for "house" and "field") also imply that there was a /h/, as a number of Sumerologists have thought for some time. There is a recent paper on vowels by Bobrova & Militarëv (1989), on which I made unpublished observations ("Remarks on Sumerian vowels"). For a variety of reasons, both Sumerological (Lieberman (1979), Bobrova & Militarëv) and typological (Boisson) the existence of an /o/ phoneme is extremely likely, but is not of much help in comparative work.

40 See the list "Lautwerte mit überhängenden Vokal" in Borger (1981 : 209-212). In that list, the sole exception to "total vowel harmony" (Boisson "Structure de la syllabe et du mot en sumérien") is tur, tura "small", where we would have expected turu (also with a question-mark in Ellermeier). 1979 : 337).

41 Person's.

42 Intransitive.

43 Of weather. It will be seen that our words apply to other phenomena than weather.

44 Weep.

45 Distant.

46 Grease, lard.

47 Of head.

48 On side.
49 Male human.
50 Thing.
51 Human being.
52 German "schieben".
53 To relieve itch.
54 Person's.
55 Hot, of weather. It will be seen that our words apply to other phenomena than weather.

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